

THE
B E A U T I E S
O F

MR. ORDE'S BILL;

BEING EXTRACTS FROM
CERTAIN *PRIVATE* SPEECHES

OF THE
FOLLOWING GENTLEMEN IN OPPOSITION:

MR. GRATTAN, MR. FLOOD, MR. CONOLLY, MR. FORBES, MR. OGILVIE, MR. CORRY, MR. HARDY, MR. BURGH, MR. CURRAN, MR. JOHN O'NEIL, Major DOYLE, MR. BROWNE, (M. Univ.), MR. SMITH, MR. HARTLEY, MR. J. WOLFE, MR. O'HARA, MR. KEARNEY, &c.

The SPEECHES from whence these EXTRACTS are taken, though *totally different* from WOODFALL'S DEBATES, are *not less authentic*. They faithfully exhibit the *real Sentiments* of *Opposition* respecting the Bill, and their *Mock Patriotism*, in such a glaring Point of View, as must render them *odious* to every Irishman, nay even to every Briton! and *that Bill universally idolized!*

This Country owes more to the Duke of Rutland, and my Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Orde) than to any Men who have ever filled their Stations.

The Attorney General's Speech, in p. 68, *Woodfall's Sketch*.

Dedicated, with all due Respect, to the Right Honourable
THOMAS ORDE.

D U B L I N :
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DEDICATION.

TO THE

Right Hon. THOMAS ORDE.

My dear and much respected Sir,

YOUR political virtues are the admiration of all Ireland. Such probity, such consistency, and such parliamentary veracity as you possess, have never before adorned any Secretary whatever. You even surpasses Prettyman and Rose in your holy enthusiasm for the love of *truth*. You are at least equal, in principle, to your great predecessor, the *worthy Eden*. And the virtuous, the chaste Pitt himself, must yield to you in zeal for the happiness and freedom of the Irish nation.

THE immaculate premier, knowing us to be a *besotted* people, and that no one of a contrary nature could successfully rule us, wisely appointed his Grace of Rutland to be our Chief Governor. This nobleman conducts himself with such a singular conviviality, as procures him the affection and constant good fellowship of all his inferior social companions. For his Grace is above all pride. At the Castle he holds, every evening, a convivial *Saturnalia*, when the most copious libations are offered up to Bacchus, for the glory of Hibernia. Thus, intoxicated with patriotism, some perambulate the streets, and elevate the volunteer name, by degrading the military. Mrs. Flattery and Mr. Crawley bear evidence of their prowess. Can any thing make the Volunteers more beloved, than that they have preserved the liberty and peace of their country, without committing

ing one insult on their fellow-subjects? And who can be more friendly to that patriotic corps, than those very officers, the companions of vicerealty, who sully the military name, by their reiterated and brave breaches of that peace which they are appointed to guard? To render the king's troops odious, is a sure method of rendering the Volunteers not only respectable, but most essentially necessary. Perhaps it might be the silly policy of the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox, that both corps ought to be revered. But as it accords with the wisdom of the Rutland administration, that one must be degraded, it is surely most patriotic to degrade the military. Mercenaries only have enslaved mankind. A volunteer militia can alone keep us free.

WHILE the wise Viceroy is so amiably employed, you, Sir, are not less active in your station as Secretary, by checking the licentiousness of the people. You revived the salutary doctrine of attachment. The law's delay has long been complained of. It was left for you to apply that dormant but constitutional remedy, which has been done with the most applauded success. By the simple information of an Attorney General, any character that is obnoxious to Government, can now be found guilty of the most enormous crimes. Though allowed to prove the negative, he can be ruined by attendance in the courts, and the expence of process. If he even be acquitted, he can neither obtain redress nor damages, as no action can lie against any Attorney-General, although he may have conducted himself with all the amiable equity of a Portuguese inquisitor.

DURING the reform meetings, you first caused to be displayed a most daring act of justice, at the hazard of your office. Burning with all the fire of the most flaming patriotism, you flew in the face of your *sincere* master, the British minister. By a *fiat only*, the sheriffs who had assembled those meetings, were imprisoned, which gave an effectual blow to the tyrannical schemes of the reformers, who had the audacity to attempt the annihilation of bribery and corruption. The premier's indignation at such an act, so *inimical* to his own *sincerity in a reform*, must be supposed to be very great, from the *hatred* he continued to shew towards the *temperate and liberal-minded* Rutland administration. Has he not lately given you a proof of his indignation, by making you a British Privy-counsellor?

THE

D E D I C A T I O N.

THE licentiousness of the press, was your next object of vengeance. Because the news-paper printers had the audacity to censure the Attorney-General's *constitutional* conduct, that respectable gentleman prosecuted several of them, who were sentenced to heavy fines, and the most rigorous imprisonment. The restraints he and you laid on the press in the former sessions, joined to these vigorous measures, must soon level its licentiousness to that parity of liberty which is enjoyed by the continental gazette printers. It must ultimately tend to crush every communication of political animadversion in this kingdom.

YOUR total want of tergiversation, and the candid sincerity you so lately displayed respecting the Irish Propositions, and the British Resolutions, became the laudatory theme of the parliaments in both kingdoms. So little of the Jesuit, and so much of the able and the honourable Statesman was then depicted, that every one felt the force of your wisdom, and the value of your worth. It for ever stamped the purity of your character.

IRELAND being thus so much indebted to his Grace of Rutland and yourself, no wonder that the sapient, the mild, and the modest Attorney-General chaunted forth your eulogy in Parliament, by affirming that this country *owes more* to you two, than to any others who have ever filled your stations.— She owes to you the annihilation of the licentiousness of the press. For it dare not now squeak against your immaculate characters, or your conduct. She owes to you the summary mode of proceeding by attachment, and by information, where any ministerial victim can speedily be brought to suffer the most severe punishment, for offending government, by enlightening, warning, or alarming the people. She owes to you the glorious attempt of *regulating* her commerce and her constitution, *under English* acts of parliament. She owes to you the necessity of maintaining a constant volunteer discipline, by winking at the irregularities of military officers. She owes to you the prevention of robberies, by your prosecuting the perpetrators of the late one in the Phoenix-park. She owes to you the prevention of felony and ravishment, in your attempts to apprehend the culprits, who forcibly, in June last, carried off from the town of Kilworth, in the county of Cork, a young lady of some fortune, named Sarah Cannan. In this instance particularly, your improve-

improvement in the police, is most astonishingly great, vigilant and effective. This lady was then carried off by a few men, rescued, but recaptured. *Proclamations*, ever since that period, have been daily inserted in *your* news-papers, offering a reward of near *one thousand pounds* to any persons that will apprehend all the offenders. Proportionate sums are offered for each of them. Your wise and strict policy is here, indeed, most admirably displayed. In these proclamations, you not only mention the *very house* in which Miss Cannan is detained, but that she is guarded by those *very perpetrators*, for the apprehension of whom the reward is offered! Must not every nation applaud such policy, when about *half a dozen men*, in the small town of Kilworth, can keep a lady confined, and *protect themselves there*, for upwards of *six months*; in defiance of the *whole power of government*! In defiance of a daily proclamation, graced with the names of the efficient Ministers and Privy-counsellors of all Ireland!

You, indeed, wind up this proclamation, Sir, with the most essential supplication of "*God save the King!*" This ejaculation is most indispensibly necessary. For his Majesty's police in this country being entrusted to *God alone*! Men can do nothing more than offer up prayers, and issue proclamations!

RECOMMENDING, therefore, to your patronage, Sir, the following sheets, where the infamy and ignorance of Opposition are depicted in the most lively colours, I at present take my leave, with this prophetic remark, that as this country *owes so much* already to his Grace of Rutland and yourself, if you two shall remain here much longer, it will indeed *owe much more* to you both, than to all your predecessors in office, ever since Ireland was blessed with the first Lord Lieutenant.

My dear and much respected Sir,

I am your Political Admirer,

PATRICK O'FLATTERY.

Blarney Castle.



Cautions to the *Courteous* Reader.

SOME prying Critics, in perusing the following Extracts, from the private Speeches of Opposition, may perhaps discover, and insist that they are *public* Ones, and *all literally taken from Woodfall's Reports*. As for instance, that the *first* and *second* Extracts (from Mr. Grattan's) the one beginning, "See what you *have* obtained, &c." and the second, "See now what you *are* to obtain, &c." are to be found, *verbatim*, in page 29 of *Woodfall's Reports*; and that *all* the others, without the slightest Alteration, are taken from the *same Pamphlet*. Be that as it may be found, the *previous Comments* are *entirely original*.

* * Those Lines which are *not* put between *inverted Commas*, are only the *Expletives* of the *succeeding Extract*. By an Error of the Press, the *Names* of the *Speakers*, which are all placed at the *End* of the *Expletive*, should have been put at the *Beginning* of the *following Line*, where *Extracts* from their *Speeches*, *verbatim*, are inserted *between inverted Commas*.

IN whatever Shape the Bill may appear *hereafter*, the Supporters of the present wise and upright Administration will find *Information* and *Satire* enough in the following Extracts, to render the present despicable, ignorant and weak Opposition, the constant Themes of their Ridicule and National Execration.

T H E
B E A U T I E S
O F
M R . O R D E ' s B I L L .

The *present slavish* situation of Ireland, entailed on her by the *coalition*, for which she is even bound to pay a *great tribute*. GRATTAN.

“SEE what you *have* obtained *without* compensation—a *colony* trade, a *free* trade, the *independency* of your judges, the *government* of your army, the *extinction* of the *unconstitutional* powers of your council, the *restoration* of the *judicature* of your lords, and the *independency* of your *legislature*!”

Mr. Pitt's *virtuous emancipation* from *such slavery*, *without* any *tribute* whatever being demanded. GRATTAN.

“SEE now what you are to obtain *by compensation*—a *covenant not* to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; a *covenant not* to take foreign plantation produce, *but* as the Parliament of Great Britain shall PERMIT; a *covenant not* to take certain produce of the United States of North America, *but* as Great Britain shall PERMIT; a *covenant not* to take British plantation produce *but* as Great Britain shall PRESCRIBE; a *covenant to make* such *acts* of navigation as Great Britain shall PRESCRIBE; a *covenant never* to *protect* your own manufactures, *never* to *guard* the *primum* of those manufactures!”

No nation upon earth but Britain would protect us on the many *disadvantages* she labours under, by her *unprofitable* connection with this country. FLOOD.

“IRELAND is willing to oblige Britain in every way she can; but yet with conscious dignity. What nation would not protect Ireland *without tribute*, to whom Ireland were to give what she does give to Britain? She gives her the nomination of her monarch, and therein of her whole administration, throughout every department; a third estate in her legislature; the creation of her peerage; the influence

over placemen and pensioners in the House of Commons; she gives her a mighty army; the use of near a million and an half of yearly revenue; five million a year in imports and in exports; above a million a year in absentee expenditure, which, at the grievous issue of one million a year from Ireland, carries above 200,000^l. a year in taxes into the British exchequer; she gives her the use of three millions of people in peace and war, and of seventeen millions of English acres in an happy climate and of an happy soil, and so situated as to be the best friend or the worst enemy in the world to Britain. In giving her the nomination of her monarch, Ireland gives to Britain, in effect, the power of treating for her, with all the world; and of declaring peace and war for her with all mankind. What follows? That Ireland can have no enemies but those who are made so by Britain. And what follows from that? That Britain is bound by every principle of honour, as well as of interest, to protect Ireland, against those enemies which Britain creates to her."

The present Speaker's *consistency*, in saying that Ireland had obtained *all the means* to become a *rich nation*, and yet without she attains *more means*, she will be always poor.

GRATTAN.

"HE says, you will be a poor country for ever, notwithstanding your present privileges; I ask him how came he to be satisfied with these privileges, and to preach satisfaction to every part of the community under these privileges, and to desire the people to cultivate the blessings of peace, as if nothing was wanting to make them rich and comfortable, except absence from politics:—His creed now is altered, and neither industry nor any thing else will make them flourish, unless they swallow that recipe which he prepared for them. I ask him again, how he will reconcile his present argument with the declarations of his own evidence in England. The government have sent to England certain persons, and one I know to be a most useful and respectable man, (the others I am not acquainted with) these persons were to give evidence at the bar of the British House of Commons, to shew that Ireland could not avail herself of the British market; their evidence is published.—I refer to it as published.—Thus does the Right Honourable Member send over evidence to the Parliament of England, and then falsifies his own evidence in the Parliament of Ireland."

The *peaceable* and *just* policy of ministers, in *not* threatening Ireland with British *hostility* and coercion,

OGILVIE.

"SUCH arguments, however, can never be admitted, except on the supposition of mutual injury and hostility, and it is singular enough that *such arguments* have been *advanced only* by *ministers* and *servants* of the *crown*, who certainly ought *not* to have been the foremost in stating cases of injustice, hostility and separation. Ireland certainly receives great benefit from the encouragement given by Great Britain to her linen manufacture, it would be a folly not to acknowledge it, and madness not to continue it; she repays this encouragement by fidelity and affection, exerted always beyond her abilities, attached

to

to her Sovereign and British connexions, attached passionately to her constitution that she conceives strengthened by these connexions, she may be rendered a blessing or a curse. A regard for the public happiness prevents me from *pushing* the *suppositions* of ministers into a *view* of *consequences*, which *no real friend* to his King and country ought to have *glanced at*, both countries have much to lose and little to gain, on the event of such rash and desperate suppositions: and I hope the good sense, the moderation and mutual interests of both kingdoms will *defeat every measure* calculated to *divide* them, whether planned by hostility and design, or originating in ignorance and incapacity."

As Ireland has not now a *free trade*, Mr. Pitt is to extend it by *exclusion*.
BROWNE, (UNIV.)

"WITH respect to trade, we have at present a commerce free as the winds that blow. Cheered with our ships for many a league, old ocean smiles; his vast demesne is every where open to us. And now we are modestly desired to confine ourselves to the Atlantic; to give a monopoly to the British colonies, and to shackle our American trade, our great expected source of wealth, and all this for what? for an intercourse with the English settlements, which was much more an object to *them* than to *us*, and for the *ridiculous* hopes of *rivalling them* in *their home market*."

These are the blessed effects of negotiation, and confirm this position. The *weaker* country that *negotiates* is *lost*. What had we to do with treaty, when *every thing* was in *our own power*?"

Wise policy of making *equal* laws for two *unequal* kingdoms.
CORY.

"THE principle of this measure was as absurd as inadmissible; two nations, unequal in all things, could never be equally affected by one and the same law. He would be a wretched quack who would administer to all patients, in all complaints, the same nostrum. Who had not laughed at Foote's doctor ordering his man to physic the entire eastward, and bleed the west of his hospital. No universal policy could be best in all places—the two nations must, in their wisdom, meet emergencies, and enact in consequence such laws and regulations as best suited each, if they would equally protect all, since to two countries, unequal in all things, one and the same law, equally applied, would be the very criterion of inequality in effect."

Mr. Pitt merits the *confidence* of both countries.

WOLFE.

"Mr. PITT is unworthy of the confidence of England, because he had endeavoured to injure its interests, and unworthy the confidence of Ireland, because he had attacked its constitution. Where was now, he said, his boasted firmness? He had taught that country to look up to the benefits held out in the original Propositions and then deserted them? He seemed to have made Propositions only to recede from them, and had exposed his friends to the obloquy and ridicule of both countries."

Whenever Ireland, if the bill passes, chooses to decline registering British laws, she has only to declare so, by an act of her own parliament, to which the *king of Ireland* CANNOT *refuse* his assent, though even the *king of Britain*, and *all his ministry* were its *determined enemies*.

FORBES.

"IT is urged, that all objections to the 4th Resolution are obviated, as whenever we think proper to decline passing the same laws as England, respecting trade and navigation, we have only to refuse to comply with this condition of the treaty, and then we are released from our covenant. But are we not now possessed of independence absolutely? Why then put it in condition? The title to our independence is clear; why then shall we embarrass it with this condition? Why make experiments on our constitution? But it should be recollected, that we cannot release ourselves from this covenant, without passing an act for that purpose; should the Parliament of England be *disinclined* to such a measure, the Minister of England dare not advise the King of Ireland to give his assent to such an act of our Parliament. But I shall be answered, that we have the remedy in our own hands in this House, by refusing to pass Bills annually for adopting taxes and the regulations of trade similar to those in England. I answer—if an honest and incorrupt Parliament, like the present, *shall pass* this Bill, contrary to the sense of the people, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that a future Parliament, less honest, and less incorrupt, may be prevailed on to *adhere* to this system, contrary also to the sense of the people. But from the circumstances attending this option, which it is urged we are to have by this Bill, I contend, that when the measure proposed is adopted, we shall, *in effect*, have absolutely and irrevocably surrendered our power of legislating on the great subjects of trade and navigation."

In case of a *breach of treaty*, the *king of Great Britain* will be forced into a war *against the king of Ireland*.

FLOOD.

"A VIOLATION of treaty is allowed to be a just cause of war. If the British Parliament declared that Ireland had been guilty of a flagrant breach of treaty, the King of Britain at their desire must declare war with Ireland, and the King of Ireland must join him—If the two Houses of the Irish Parliament declared that Britain had been guilty of a flagrant breach of treaty and desired the King of Ireland to declare war with Britain, could he do so? or would the King of Britain join him? certainly not. No; nor the army of Ireland neither; nor that part of the British Navy that was paid by Ireland. What legislative authority has Ireland, here; or what reciprocity?"

As Ireland is totally *dependent* on Britain for her existence, she *must* submit to Mr. Pitt's bill; the more especially as that *virtuous* youth means soon to give us the *reversion* of the India trade.

GRATTAN.

"IRELAND was neither in that state of abject misery and distress that it had been described, nor would it be in the power, either of the present,

present, or of any other system, suddenly to make it affluent and prosperous. The fact was, Ireland was neither wholly dependent on Great Britain, nor could she well do without her. Both countries derived a mutual share of advantage from the connexion, and neither could well exist without the other. But he would advise them to remain as they were, and to keep the *Colony trade on its present footing*, and not bind their *foreign trade* in the manner proposed; for, under a pretence of giving a preference to the British Colonies, they were called on to bind their trade to the East Indies, and to favour a monopoly; and, in return, to get the reversion of the East India trade, after the Company's charter expired; after the expiration of a charter, which the Minister's existence depended upon preserving and rendering perpetual!"

By Ireland paying a *tribute* to Britain, we *increase* our independence.
FLOOD.

"WHAT country has ever been free, that could not protect itself? What country can be independent that relies for ever, on the protection of another nation? Is not a confession that you cannot protect yourself, a virtual cancelment of all pretensions to independence? That such a tribute therefore should have been the virgin fancy of Independent Ireland, must have been astonishing. And that it should have originated within three years of the last war, must encrease one's astonishment: for in last war you had the strongest experience that the fact was false, on which the principle was grounded."

The trade of Ireland, which was *free* for more than a century, totally annihilated by Lord North in 1779.
GRATTAN.

"I BEGIN with your free trade obtained in 1779; by that you recovered your right to trade with every part of the world, whose ports were open to you, subject to your own unstipulated duties, the British plantations only excepted; by that, you obtained the benefit of your insular situation, the benefit of your western situation, and the benefit of your exemption from intolerable taxes. What these advantages might be, no man could say, but any man who had seen the struggle you had made during a century of depression, could foresee, that a spirit of industry operating upon a state of liberty in a young nation, must in the course of time produce signal advantages—the sea is like the earth, to non exertion a *waste*, to industry a *mine*; this trade was accompanied with another, a plantation trade; in this, you retained your right to trade directly with the British plantations in a variety of articles, without a reference to British duties; by this, you obtained a right to trade with the British plantations directly in each and every other article, subject to the rate of British duty; by this, you obtained a right to select the article, so that the general trade should not hang on the special conformity; and by this, you did not covenant to affect, exclude, or postpone the produce of foreign plantations—the reason was obvious, you demanded two things, a free trade and a plantation trade; had the then minister insisted on a covenant to exclude the produce of foreign plantations, he had given you a plantation trade instead of a free trade, (whereas

(whereas your demand was *both*) and his grant had been *inadequate, unsatisfactory and inadmissible.*"

Political Phenomenon, too serious to be called a bull. FORBES.

" IF we adopt this system, we shall exhibit a phenomenon in politics; for after having hazarded in 1782 every thing that was dear to us, to recover the *independence* of our Parliament, the *first use* we shall have made of that *independence*, is to pass an act for its *surrender.*"

A short history of the *tribute* which Great Britain now demands from this *besotted* kingdom, in order to *enrich* and *emancipate* us.
FLOOD.

" THE Right Hon. Secretary, when he first mentioned the idea of tribute, did it with a trembling diffidence; and mentioned it, not as a condition on the part of Britain, but as his presentiment, of spontaneous generosity on the part of Ireland. Then delicately and timorously was it ushered in, at the end of the Propositions in the first stage—but in the last exhibition, it stands immediately after the preamble, and in the van of that host of Propositions to which the original ten have increased. Here too it stands in a different form; as a peremptory demand and absolute condition, to be fulfilled in all its parts (implying distrust) before a step is to be taken by Britain. In the consideration of this tribute, the 20th Proposition must be combined with this second Resolve, in order to see the whole alteration. Now what are the alterations that have been made in the Irish grant by the 20th Proposition? 1st. The grant was conditional, and the 20th makes it absolute. In war, at all events, the specified surplus was to be given to the British navy as the Resolves left Ireland; but in peace, nothing might be given. Thus Ireland seemed to be at a certainty not to give more, with a possibility of not giving so much. —But by the 20th Proposition, this certainty is taken away, and the reverse is established. That is to say, it is made certain that Ireland shall never give less, but that in war, she should lie open to an unlimited demand. In other words, it is made certain that on the first war there should be a rupture between the nations, which, considering the distrust that this system would inspire, might probably be fatal. Thus the nature and quantum of the Irish grant was altered. The application too, by the Irish Parliament, was conceived to be reserved as a right to be exercised from time to time, and to be adapted to circumstances that no man can foresee. The 20th Proposition cuts off this free exercise of Parliamentary authority in the application of its grant, and requires the application to be made, now and for ever, by one act."

England kindly *nurses* the infant trade of Ireland, by not allowing it to stray into distant, dangerous, unknown and *unprofitable* regions.

GRATTAN.

NOT

"NOT to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, an awful interdict! Not only European Settlements, but neutral countries excluded, and God's providence shut out in the most opulent boundaries of creation; other interdicts go to particular places for local reasons, because they belong to certain European States, but here are neutral regions forbidden and a path prescribed to the Irishman on open sea. Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of restraint, you are to have no trade at all during the existence of any Company, and no free trade to those countries after its expiration; this resembles rather a judgment of God than an act of the legislature, whether you measure it by immensity of space or infinity of duration, and has nothing human about it except its presumption."

England favourable to the establishment of an Irish marine. FLOOD.

"ABOVE an hundred years ago, in the fever of the restoration, and in the infatuation of this kingdom, Ireland had made a perpetual grant, for the support of an Irish marine. This England never permitted to be applied. Why? Because she wished that Ireland should have no marine—because she wished to have a monopoly of Navy to herself—for what purpose, let her subsequent conduct to Ireland explain. What followed? English ministers, in spite of law, disappropriated this fund, and applied it to an overgrown land army, rather than to a marine. The defence of this land army Britain had, and Ireland had the burden. With what grace could Britain after this, come to Ireland and say, you do not support a marine; when Britain herself prevented Ireland from doing so? When a monopoly of navy was the choice of Britain, what right had she to say, that Ireland ought to pay Britain, for her having her own choice? When British ministers, contrary to legal appropriation, had applied the marine fund of Ireland to a land army for the convenience of Britain, what right had they to come to Ireland to demand a new marine fund; and that, not for an Irish marine, but for the British navy? which was in effect to demand, that Ireland should for ever abdicate any marine, and make a formal recognition, that she never ought to have a sea-guard of her own?"

Ireland does not now enjoy an equal participation of the navigation act as England. CORY.

"IN the administration of Lord Buckingham, a report of the Revenue board upon the trade of Ireland had been sent to England when the Irish business was then under discussion: In that report the board stated, that the Navigation Act considers England and Ireland as one country, and affects both alike. It was dated the 26th of June, 1779. How that board had acted since giving that opinion, or how they might think fit to act in future, it was not his business to explain or to conjecture, it was enough for him to state the matter to that board and to the House, willing, as he said, to proceed on it, if desired so to do."

Great

Great benefit that Ireland reaps in getting coals from England duty free.

KEARNEY.

"AS to coals, our getting them duty free from Great Britain has produced two consequences not very beneficial to this kingdom.— It has prevented our working our own collieries, and it has caused us to carry on all our manufactures, except the linen, in the large seaport towns, the most improper places for them, instead of establishing them near the coal mines, as they have done in England!"

Eulogium on the *virtuous*, the *sincere* Mr. Pitt and his adherents, with a most convincing proof of the *enmity* which the English opposition displayed towards Ireland, respecting the *Fourth Resolution*.

FORBES.

"WE should be cautious of treating with the Minister of England, having already discovered his insincerity in this transaction. On the 7th of February, the Agent or Representative of Mr. Pitt required this House to pledge themselves to the eleven Propositions, as a system, respecting every part and principle of which the British Minister had made up his mind; but at this very period, and for long after, the friend of the British Minister, Mr. Jenkinson, and the committee of the English council were enquiring into and examining as to the expediency of adopting the leading principles of these eleven Propositions, concerning which he had taught us to believe (through the mouth of his Secretary) that he, Mr. Pitt, was clearly decided and absolutely determined. The fourth Resolution originated with Mr. Pitt, and not in the suggestion or urgency of the English opposition; when he introduced this resolution it had not even the palliating words, 'by laws to be passed by the Irish Parliament;' these were inserted by the suggestion of opposition, who moved an amendment to expunge the exceptional parts of the fourth Resolution, which Mr. Pitt resisted, and with success. This circumstance is a full refutation of the imputation attempted to be cast on many respectable members of the English opposition, that in this transaction they had sacrificed every thing to party; if that had been their only object they would not have moved this amendment, and thereby have endeavoured to render the system more palatable to Ireland; they would on the contrary have suffered this Resolution to be sent over to Ireland in its native deformity, with all its imperfections on its head, which would have insured its rejection here and the Minister's defeat."

Mr. Pitt's wonderful talents, in endeavouring to destroy the only remaining *enemy* of England.

O'HARA.

"HE had heard and read of many Ministers of wonderful talents in the art of destroying their enemies. But they must yield to the author of this *fair and reciprocal* system: No Minister was ever more plausible in destroying his enemy than this young man had proved himself to be in ruining the only friend remaining to his country."

Because

Anathemas against the Duke of Portland, Mr. Fox, and the English opposition for their attack on our constitution in 1782, and for originating and applauding the fourth Resolution, which binds us for ever in British chains. BROWNE, (Univ.)

" I SEE no harm in that declaration of an illustrious Duke, which the Minister, with a party voice so industriously dwelt upon this night, that the Portland administration meant to grant us no more. Why? because they had granted us enough; and it was in our own power to do the rest. They said they would not grant us any thing, but did they say, like the present, that they would take any thing from us. Who opposed the violent attack on our constitution contained in the fourth Proposition? Not the Minister of England; for by means of that Proposition, principally did he hope to make the whole system palatable to the British nation. Not the people of England; all their objections related to the commercial part, but never in any of their addresses or petitions did they object to this restraint upon our legislature. No; the men who composed the whig ministry of 1782, from whom we obtained a free recognition of our rights, and who saw in an attack upon them, the prelude to an invasion of their own. That bold and decided spirit, which distinguishes the man who has most uniformly and powerfully opposed increasing influence, was never more alive, than in opposing this execrable Proposition."

Because in 1780 we agreed to adopt English laws in *a part only* of our colony trade, we must now introduce them *universally* and *implicitly*. FORBES.

" MUCH reliance has been placed by the last speaker on the condition contained in the English act of 1780, known here by the title of the act of Free Trade; but allowing merely for argument sake, that the principle that we should participate in the colony trade, only on condition that we implicitly adopt English regulations and English laws is there admitted, shall we because we adopt English laws in *one branch* of our commerce, and respecting only *a part* of the colony trade, introduce them *universally* and *implicitly* into our commercial system?—Shall we extend this policy so far as to make it the constitution of our country?"

The bill will *establish* the mutual prosperity, happiness, and harmony of both countries. SMITH.

" I CONSIDER the proposed Bill as militating against its own avowed principle. What is that principle?—to effect the mutual prosperity and happiness of the sister kingdoms, and establish everlasting harmony between both,—an object devoutly to be wished for! And how is this to be effected?—Why, Sir, by a system *odious* to the one country, and *detestable* to the other.—By a system solemn-

ly abjured by the people of Great Britain, and universally execrated by the people of Ireland. Sir, to conceive that such a system could ever become the basis of mutual happiness, or mutual harmony, is in my opinion, the wildest idea that ever entered the minds of men. No, harmony or happiness can never result from it—'tis a system which if adopted, must be ruinous to both countries—" 'tis sown in jealousy, " and will be raised in destruction—"tis sown in discord, (and heaven " grant that) it (may) not be raised in blood."

Ireland now bound by the British parliament not to trade to India.

FLOOD.

" IF Ireland is now under no restriction as to her East India commerce, such a restraint is not fit to be a part of a system of commercial extension, for which Ireland should be expected to pay; and if Ireland be under any restriction as to her East India commerce, it is only by a law of her own, and by a voluntary and unstipulated act of her Parliament in favour of the British East India company, merely because it is British. Such a conduct on the part of Ireland, shews how little such hard conditions are either necessary or deserved."

Mr. Pitt makes his most sacred Majesty speak a most palpable and downright truth!

FLOOD.

" THE King's speech, under the sanction of which the system was introduced, declared, that it was only to adjust matters which had not been before adjusted. Yet the very second of the original ten Propositions, in contradiction to this, went only to objects that had been before adjusted in 1780 and in 1782—namely, foreign trade and British Colonial trade."

Britain dreaming that the United States of America may again become her own colonies, wants to subject our trade with that Republic to British laws, as she has done to us with her remaining colonies; and by this method she intends Ireland as the clue to regain her hold in America.

FLOOD.

" AS to America, the 16th Proposition which has for its object foreign trade only; and, as a branch of that, subjects our imports from the independent states of America to such duties, regulations and prohibitions as the British Parliament shall from time to time think fit to impose on Britain, as to all articles similar to those that are produced in the British Colonies or Settlements. Now, what articles can America send to us, to which similar articles are not, or may not be produced in some of the Colonies or Settlements of Britain? A great revolution took place, as to the relative situation of America and Ireland, about the year 1782. In a commercial consideration in 1785, the chief object that Ireland could possibly have was America. The rest of the world, comparatively speaking, was mortgaged and pre-occupied. The new states were unengaged. Much Irish blood circulates in America, and there is no small

small partiality towards Ireland in those states. Was this a thing for Ireland to throw away? Or was it the sound and permanent interest of Britain, that Ireland should so throw it away? If there be a string, by which Britain can recover the affections of America, it is a string which Ireland holds out to her."

British protection.

FLOOD.

"AS to the fact of protection, does Britain keep a *frigate* for the protection of Ireland? Or when the Stag Frigate was in our bay, was it for the protection of our trade?"

Ireland is as much benefited by the English East India Company as Great Britain.

GRATTAN."

"YOU are to give a monopoly to the present or any future East India Company during its existence, and to the British nation for ever after; it has been said that the Irishman in this is in the same situation as the Englishman, but there is this difference, the difference between having, and not having the trade; the British Parliament has judged it most expedient for Great Britain to carry on her trade to the East, by an exclusive Company; the Irish Parliament is now to determine it most expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in these parts. This is not a surrender of the political rights of the constitution, but of the natural rights of *man*; not of the privileges of Parliament, but of the rights of nations."

Benefit of countervailing duties to Ireland explained.

FLOOD.

"THE principle of countervailing duties—That is to say, that the port duties, though too low for the protection of Ireland, should be equal; but that the country that had the highest internal duties on consumption, might add to the port duty, a countervailing duty in proportion to its internal imposts; whereby the before equal duties would become unequal. Now to solve this problem, we have only to ask, which of these kingdoms, now has, and which of them, as richer, must always be able to have, the highest internal duties on consumption? Undoubtedly Britain. What follows? That Ireland was made, in the countervailing principle, to propose, that Britain should have higher duties against Irish imports, than Ireland should have against British imports; which was, first, contrary to what Ireland had desired; and, secondly, was in itself unreasonable; because certainly the weaker manufacturing country required more protection than the stronger; though she was content with a protection equal to what Britain had long enjoyed, and by the long enjoyment of which, she had gained such advantage ground, as Ireland could never recover, nor Britain ever lose."

Equal duties will injure Great Britain, but materially enrich Ireland.

GRATTAN.

"THE principle of equal duty or the same restriction is not the shadow of security; to make such a principle applicable the objects must

be equal, but here the objects are not only dissimilar but opposite; the condition of England is great debt and greater capital, great incumbrances, but still greater abilities; the condition of Ireland, little capital but a small debt, poverty but exemption from intolerable taxes. Equal burthens will have opposite effects, they will fund the debt of one country and destroy the trade of the other; high duties will take away *your* resource, which is exemption from them, but will be a fund for Great Britain: thus the colony principle in its extent is dangerous to a very great degree."

Practicability of a speedy and fair equalization of duties, demonstrated in the article of sugar. FLOOD.

"THE extreme difference in the rates and valuations of the two kingdoms, in many instances, would be a ground of endless altercation. As to the equalization of duties, we have had some experiment that should teach us the difficulty of it. As to sugars, in the first session of equalization, three different duties, at different periods of it, were proposed, and carried as equal: All of them might have been wrong, and only one of them could possibly have been right. Since that, the proportion of the duty has been altered again, and therefore, it is fair to say, that they were all wrong—and of this, there is no doubt that, though the Right Honourable Member, who was one of the negociators of this system, has been five years engaged in the subject, the sugar duties remain yet unequalized."

The produce of the British plantations *cheaper* than those of any other country. GRATTAN.

"THERE is scarcely an article of the British plantations that is not *out of all proportion dearer* than the same article is in any other part of the Globe, nor any one article that is not produced elsewhere, for some of which articles you might establish a mart for your manufactures.—Portugal, for instance, capable of being a better market for our drapery than Great Britain; this enormity of price is aggravated by an enormity of tax, what then is this covenant? to take these articles from the British plantations, and from none other, at the present high rates and taxes, and to take them at all times to come subject to whatever further rates and taxes the Parliament of Great Britain shall enact." Let me ask you, why did you refuse Protecting Duties to your own people? because they looked like a monopoly; and will you give to the East India merchant, and the West India planter something more? a monopoly where the monopolist is in some degree the law-giver.

Proofs of British *protection*, and the *inutility* of the now *justly reviled* VOLUNTEERS. FLOOD.

"DID the British navy protect Ireland last war? No—it did but protect Great Britain. Did the British army protect Ireland? No—it was gone to America. Did the Irish army protect Ireland? No—it was

was gone to protect Great Britain. What then did protect Ireland ? Ireland herself—in other words, her Volunteers. They defended Ireland—and by defending Ireland they enabled Ireland to send her army to defend Great Britain—that is, they in effect protected both kingdoms—yet the fashion has of late been with some men in both kingdoms to revile that illustrious body. The curse of ingratitude has fallen on the nation, and the Independence of Ireland having thrown away its staff has begun to totter."

Britain's generosity in submitting for ever to supply you with East India goods at her own *low* prices; and in permitting you to trade to her plantations, at the *trifling* rate of *her* taxes, which only can be *increased* or *diminished* by *her* own parliament. GRATTAN.

" YOU are to give a monopoly to the British plantations at their own taxes; before, you did so only in certain articles, with a power of selection, and then only as long as you pleased to conform to the condition, and without any stipulation to exclude foreign produce. It may be very proper to exclude foreign produce by your own temporary laws, and at your own free will and option, but now you are to *covenant* to do so *for ever*, and thereby you put the trade out of your own power *for ever*, and you give to the English, West as well as East, an eternal monopoly for their plantation produce in the taxing and regulating of which you have no sort of deliberation or interference, and over which Great Britain has a complete supremacy. Here you will consider the advantage you receive from that monopoly, and judge, how far it may be expedient to set up against yourselves that monopoly for ever."

Eulogium on Mr Orde.

BURGH.

" AS he looked upon his application to them of that day as a *proposal* to *surrender* and *betray* the constitution and commerce of the country, as he thought that to propose treason was to impute it, and that the Bill was an insult on the understanding and the integrity of the House, rather than vote that it should be brought into the House, he had much rather consent to *vote* the Right Honourable Gentleman *out of it* for having proposed it."

Mr. Orde's *motive* for *reducing* 140,000*l.* per annum of our taxes. FLOOD.

" HE said thus in effect, " Your establishments which are formed by British Ministers, are too great for your revenue; we have refused to retrench; and yet we expect a part of your inadequate revenue to be sent to Britain.—Neither will we quarrel with you for saying that the income ought to be equal to the expence of Government, provided the equality is not to arise from retrenchment but from new taxes. On the contrary, we will join you heartily in raising 140,000*l.* a year of new taxes, to enable you to part with the specified surplus of your old duties."

The

The English opposition *reviled* for not watching over the interests of the constitution.

WOLFE.

“THE conduct of the Gentlemen in opposition in England he considered as highly praise-worthy, and that they had given the Gentlemen of this country an example that ought to be followed, when they thought the interests of their country in danger; they exerted themselves in its defence, and when the constitution of Ireland was attacked, they endeavoured to avert the intended injury, well knowing, that if the Irish constitution was destroyed, their own would be in danger; and well knowing that there was a secret influence, as he had mentioned on a former occasion, which had been many years exerted against the liberties of both.”

Mr. Fox an *enemy* to the free constitution of Britain and Ireland.

CURRAN.

“HOWEVER he might think Mr. Fox an Englishman on subjects of commerce, he thought him a member of the British empire on points of constitution.

“On so sacred a subject as the latter, he could not suppose so able a man capable of yielding to any little motive of party or passion by a declaration of any sentiments but those of his heart. It needed not his talents to know, that if the Constitution was dishonoured in Ireland, it was dishonoured in England also. It was to this principle he attributed his indignation when the rights of Juries were invaded, as well as the opposition which he gave to a Bill that must have endangered the rights of the Constitution in England by destroying them in Ireland.”

The sage minister's mode of *healing* the discontents in Ireland.

O'HARA.

“MINISTERS had asserted they were driven to the present settlement by discontents in Ireland—But if Ireland was discontented, such a remedy surely was a very unlikely mode to content her—It was a curious way to content a people, that complained of being deprived unjustly of a portion of their trade, to *take away the remainder*. He saw greater opposition rising from the system than ever was experienced in that country, as the Right Hon. Gentleman's Bill instead of being calculated to give contentment seemed intended for no other purpose than the promotion of keenest discord. If it were not, he said, for Administration themselves, opposition would not in Ireland shew its face.”

Mr. Pitt's zeal for the *prosperity* of Ireland, explained.

CURRAN.

“IF Mr. Pitt had been disposed to speak plainly to the British merchant, he would have said, ‘do not be alarmed at any competition of Ireland in your own or in foreign markets, for the 4th Proposition

position shall chain down her competition. If she shall grow formidable to you in Europe, I will press her with navigation laws, and frustrate her efforts. The Western Islands shall cease to be the scene of torture only to the unhappy sons of Africa; they shall be houses of correction to the spirit of Irish commerce."

Generosity of Mr. Pitt, in granting Ireland a *limited* free trade, and taking her lately acquired consumptive constitution under his care, without fee or reward.

GRATTAN.

"I OBJECT to this principle in every shape, whether you are, as the Resolution was first worded, directly to transfer legislative power to the British Parliament; whether, as it was afterwards altered, you are to covenant to subscribe her acts; or whether, as it is *now softened*, you are to take the chance of the British market, so long as you *wave* the *blessings* of the British constitution—terms dishonourable, derogatory, incapable of forming the foundation of any fair and friendly settlement, injurious to the political morality of the nation; I would not harbour a slavish principle, nor give it the hospitality of a night's lodging in a land of liberty!"

Propriety of the bill introducing *Irish* revenue officers only to enforce the British laws.

BURGH.

"THEY were not only to have British Laws, but British Officers to enforce them, 'their Officers were not to be trusted.' It had been well said on the other side of the water, that as Great Britain was to have the profits of our Commerce, it would be patriotic in an Irish Revenue Officer to connive at abuses. It was very true, it would be the only resource, now, as before, that the country could have against British Restrictions. Let but the Bill pass, it would not be the Member of Parliament who could any longer make, nor the Magistrate who could any longer enforce, laws that could serve their country. They would necessarily become the accomplices of the destruction of her Commerce, and, if attempting the only means to preserve that Commerce from destruction was patriotic, the smuggler was the only patriot they would admit of."

The *advantages* by the Bill's establishing a *perpetual* revenue.

GRATTAN.

"IN order to complete this chain of power, one link (I do acknowledge) was wanting—a perpetual Revenue Bill, or a covenant from time to time to renew the Bill for the collection thereof. The twentieth Resolution and this Bill founded upon it attain that object. This House rests on three pillars—your power over the annual Mutiny Bill—your power over the annual Additional Duties—your power over the Collection of the Revenue. The latter power is of great consequence, because a great part of our revenues are granted for ever."

AS

As the *petty* country of North America is at present impoverished, after an expensive war in defence of their liberty, which was the cause of our *slavery* in 1782, we must never more trade with them, owing to their eternal inability to repay from their *poor* soil, and the impossibility of recovering their country to its former prosperity.

GRATTAN.

“ HAVE you considered the state of North America? its present state, future growth and every opportunity in the endless succession of time attending that nurse of commerce and asylum of mankind? Are they now competent to declare on the part of themselves and all their posterity that a free trade to those regions will never in the efflux of time be of any service to the kingdom of Ireland? If they have information on this subject it must be by a communication with God, for they had none with man; it must be *inspiration* for it cannot be *knowledge*. To subscribe this agreement would be insatiation, an insatiation to which the nation could not be a party, but would appear to be concluded or indeed huddled with all her posterity into a fallacious arrangement by the influence of the Crown without the deliberation of Parliament, or the consent of the people! This would appear the more inexcusable because we are not driven to it.”

Enmity of the English nation to their Irish fellow subjects.

GRATTAN.

“ I ACQUIT the people of England; an ill-grounded jealousy for their trade seems aggravated by a well-founded alarm for your liberty; unwilling to relinquish, but when relinquished, too magnanimous and too wise to resume abdicated tyranny; they feel in these Propositions an honourable solicitude for the freedom of Ireland and the good faith of Great Britain, and see the darling principles and passions of both countries wounded in an arrangement which was to compose them for ever.”

Present adjustment indispensable.

GRATTAN.

“ ADJUSTMENT is not indispensable; *the great points have been carried*: an inferior question about the home market has been started and a commercial fever artificially raised, but while the great points remain undisturbed the nations cannot be committed; the manufacturers applied for protecting duties and have failed; the minister offered a system of reciprocity and succeeded in Ireland, but has failed in England; he makes you another offer inconsistent with the former, which offer the English do not support and the Irish deprecate.”

The *interest* of England is the *ruin* of Ireland.

FLOOD.

“ THE 8th resolution extends to all those exports of Ireland that in 1780 were *exempted*, and subjects them, in going to the British Colonies or Settlements, to such duties, drawbacks and regulations, as that they may

may not be exported with less incumbrance of duty or imposition than the like goods going from Great Britain. This subjects our export trade to the Colonies to *disadvantages* from which it is *at present free*.—Is this extension and grace? Is this a thing to be paid for? We have just attained the trade of Candles to the West Indies—This would destroy it. Capital is a greater advantage than poverty—The only advantage of the latter, is freedom from incumbrance—And this Proposition deprives Ireland of that. Is this for the interest of the empire? Certainly not; unless the interest of the empire be the ruin of Ireland; and if so, the prosperity of the empire would not be the interest of Ireland.”

Perpetuity of the revenue laws, the Preservation of parliament.

GRATTAN.

“THE pretence given for this unconstitutional idea is weak indeed; that as the benefits are permanent, so should be the compensation. But trade laws are to follow their nature—revenue laws to follow theirs. On the permanent nature of commercial advantages depends the faith of trade, on the *limited nature* of revenue laws depends the *existence* of Parliament.”

When Britain gives Ireland her promised *freedom*, the only fears of ministry are, that they will drive Ireland to the *choice of preferring* French smuggling to it.

BURGH.

“IRELAND, relieved from the open restrictions of her liberal and affectionate sister, Great Britain, and enabled only to exist by smuggling with France, (the rival and enemy of Great Britain!) Why should Great Britain wish to continue and renew a situation, so irksome, so destructive to Ireland, so prejudicial to her own interest, so advantageous to her enemies, so subversive of those resources she ought to restore and cherish? It was, he declared, irksome to him, in the highest degree, to be obliged to say, he could not trust the Parliament of Great Britain, but truth and duty compelled him to it.”

Parliamentary increase of power.

GRATTAN.

“IF the merchant, after this bill passes, should petition you to lower your duties on the articles of trade, your answer, “trade is in covenant.” If your constituents should instruct you to limit the Bill of Supply, or pass a short Money Bill, your answer, “the purse of the nation like her trade is in covenant.”—No more of six months Money Bills—no more of instructions from constituents—that connection is broken by this Bill—pass this, you have *no constituent*—you are not the representative of the people of Ireland, but the register of the British Parliament, and the equalizer of British duties!

Mr. Orde's paradoxical assertion, that the number *eleven* and the number *twenty* are one and the same, elucidated and confirmed, by the case of *Sir John Cutler's black worsted stockings*, which however must

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be here applied inversely, his stockings being *originally worsted*, and *changed into silk*; whereas the original eleven propositions were the *filken* ones, now converted by Mr. Pitt into *twenty worsted* ones, but, as proved by Mr. Orde, one and the same in number and value.

HARDY.

“ THE original system contained in the Eleven Propositions was not in the slightest degree departed from, it was still the same, though many of the Propositions had been totally altered, and their number increased from eleven to twenty. This, he said, was such an extraordinary assertion, that he did not know what to make of it, especially when one considered that the fourth Resolution, which establishes for ever a controlling power in Great Britain in all commercial matters, was not to be found in the original system; that the monopoly of the East India Company was not to be found in that system, nor in the most distant manner alluded to; that the stipulation to lay on such duties as would extremely fetter our intercourse with America, was not to be found in that system; and yet the Right Honourable Secretary insisted on it, that it was still the same system. This, he said, was such a mode of reasoning, as he had never read or heard of, except in one instance, and that was to be found in Martinus Scriblerus, where a very ingenious set of Philosophers undertook to shew how a man could be conscious to himself that he was the same individual at forty years of age, that he had been at twenty, though the particles which composed his body had undergone a total change within that time. This they proved by a very humble and familiar illustration, viz. the case of Sir John Cutler's black worsted Stockings, which had been so often darned with silk, that they at length became a pair of silk Stockings. Those Stockings, said they, were certainly the same individual Stockings, both *before* and *after* the darning, though perhaps, at the last darning, there was not a single thread left of the original pair. The Secretary's mode of reasoning was exactly in that manner. The original Propositions as they left Ireland, were generally considered as Irish Propositions, but since they had been in England, they had undergone so many amendments or darnings, that they had become English Propositions; and though at the last amendment or darning, the whole substance of the original system was totally altered, yet says the Right Honourable Secretary, “ take my word for it, Gentlemen, they are to all intents and purposes the same original Propositions, just as they left this in February last.”

Irish privilege and pride must be sacrificed to *ideal* interest.

GRATTAN.

“ SLAVERY is like any other vice, tolerate and you embrace; you should guard your constitution by settled maxims of honour, as well as wholesome rules of law; and one maxim should be, *never to tolerate a condition which trenches on the privilege of Parliament or derogates from the pride of the island.*

Hibernia,

Hibernia, like a seduced, a ravished, and a polluted female, existed formerly only by the prostitution of commerce, or *smuggling*, in order that those bawds, her absentees, pensioners, &c. might be pampered in their luxury.

BURGH.

" This country, it was irksome to him to be obliged to say, had been hitherto enabled to exist by smuggling only. At a medium of eleven years previous to 1779, her remittances to Great Britain to Absentees, and for Pensions, Salaries, &c. amounting to upwards of eleven hundred thousand pounds, while the balance in favour of all the trade which Great Britain allowed her with the whole world was barely six hundred thousand pounds. How was the deficiency made up, and from whence was the drain supplied. Must it not have been by clandestine trade?"

Mr. Pitt's bill *favours* Irish bounties.

BURGH.

" HAD it not been the principle of the British Bill to deny them the power of extricating themselves by the application of bounties to their weakened manufactures? the means by which their own had been brought to perfection!"

Ireland has *not* any right to the Navigation Act.

GRATTAN.

" HERE you stood on two grounds, law and justice; law, because you only desired that the same words of the same act of navigation should have the same construction on one side the Channel as they have on the other; how they had ever borne a different one, I cannot conceive, otherwise than by supposing that in your ancient state of dependency you were not entitled to the common benefit of the mother tongue; the answer to this argument was unsatisfactory, " that England had altered the law," but if England had *so* altered the law, it ceased to impose the same restrictions and confer the same advantages, and then a doubt might arise whether the act of navigation was the law of Ireland, so that you seemed entitled to the construction or free from the act; now it is of more consequence to England that you should be bound by the act of navigation, than to Ireland to have the benefit of the fair construction of it. But you stood on still better ground, *justice*; was it just that you should receive plantation goods from England, and that England should not receive them from you? here if you don't find the law equal, you may make it so: for as yet you are a free Parliament."

Queries for the solution of the present Speaker.

OGILVIE.

" QUESTIONS are sometimes best answered by other questions: Where could Great Britain get linen and bay yarn, hides, &c. &c. to supply her manufactures, provisions to feed her islands and fleets, money to maintain the Irish absentees, pensioners, and annuitants that live with her, and to pay the army that Ireland keeps for her, and men to fight her battles by sea and by land."

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The dependent Provost's independence.

FLOOD.

"AN honourable gentleman had talked of his *independence*, and had rested it on the *emoluments* of his *office*. He should be extremely sorry, if the honourable gentleman had not a better ground for his independence; and if it did not arise from his own honour. The man who was in his mind a slave, would not, he asserted, be less so, if he had forty thousand a year; while the man of honour would be free, if his annual income were only forty livres. True independence consisted in an honourable mind; but were the honourable gentleman's constituents to thank him for what he had said? The honourable gentleman, however, might well say he was independent, since he was independent both of his Prince and his Constituents."

Eulogium on Mr. Orde.

GRATTAN.

"I CAN excuse the Right Honourable Member who moves you for leave to bring in the Bill, he is an Englishman, and contends for the power of his own country while I am contending for the liberty of mine; he might have spared himself the trouble of stating his own Bill. I read it before, I read it in the twenty Resolutions, I read it in the English Bill, which is to all intents and purposes the same: and which he might read without the trouble of resorting to his own. His comment is of little moment, a Lord Lieutenant's Secretary is an unsafe commentator on an Irish constitution; the former merit of the Right Honourable Gentleman in pressing for the original Propositions and contending against the present, which he now supports, may have been very great, and I am willing to thank him *for his past services*; they may be a private consolation to himself. No more—I differ from him in his account of this transaction. He *was pledged* to his eleven propositions; his offer was the Propositions, our's the taxes; he took the latter, but forgets the former."

Advantages of Ireland being the *carrier* to Britain of all her Colony produce.

HARTLEY.

"WITH regard to the giving a fair construction to the navigation acts, that was certainly an object of some importance, though by no means so great as it had been stated to be; it opened indeed a market for any accidental redundancy Ireland might have of the produce of the British West India Islands, but it was vain to expect she should ever become the carrier of that produce to Great Britain. A variety of obvious reasons would naturally suggest themselves to the minds of Gentlemen in support of the propriety and justice of this observation."

Certain and immense wealth must accrue to Ireland from giving up our trade to *three* quarters of the world, besides England's *regulating* even our European commerce.

GRATTAN.

"BUT if gentlemen can entertain a doubt of the mischief of these propositions, are they convinced of their safety? the safety of giving up

up the government of your trade? no! the mischief is prominent, but the advantage is of a most enigmatical nature. Have gentlemen considered the subject, have they traced even the map of the countries, the power or freedom of trading with whom they are to surrender for ever? Have they traced the map of Asia, Africa, and America? Do they know the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish settlements? Do they know the neutral powers of those countries, their produce, aptitudes and dispositions?

A proof of the *present Speaker's qualifications for the chair*, by his *deep knowledge in the rules of the House*.

SIR H. CAVENDISH.

“THE Chancellor of the Exchequer contended that no Gentleman had a right to speak more than once to a question unless he rose to speak in explanation.

“Sir Henry Cavendish, on the the other hand, declared the Chancellor of the Exchequer *totally mistaken and ill-founded* in the doctrine of order that he had laid down. The rule of order, Sir Henry said, was, when the question before the House was the question of adjournment, every Member had a right to rise and speak to it as often as he thought proper.”

No future Secretary, by the bill dare ever *dictate* to, or *threaten* our Irish parliament, which could always *refuse* to register the *edicts* of England.

FORBES.

“WHEN in a future Parliament an attempt shall be made to legislate on the subject of trade and navigation differently from England, an English Secretary will rise, and ask you, if you had considered the consequences of not adopting the English acts on those subjects in toto? If you were prepared to have every port in the British dominions shut against you? If it was not better to register this act, though injurious in some instances to your rights or liberties, than submit to this dreadful alternative—British proscription;—and, using the language of the last speaker [the Attorney General] (respecting the objections proceeding from this side of the House to the system in point of constitution) he will say, do not make such a sacrifice to punctilious pride. The corrupt would avail themselves of those arguments for a pretext, and many honest, but timid men, might acquiesce; precedent would be heaped on precedent, till a superstructure was raised on the foundation of this Bill, which would terminate in despotism on one part, and dependance on the other.”

Irish hostility to the interests of Great Britain.

GRATTAN.

“HAVE you ever since your redemption refused to preserve a similarity of law in Trade and Navigation? Have you not followed Great Britain in all her changes of the Act of Navigation, during
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the whole of that unpalatable business, the American War? Have you not excluded the cheap produce of other Plantations, in order that Irish poverty might give a monopoly to the dear produce of British Colonies? Have you not made a better use of your liberty than Great Britain did of her power?"

Ireland will in future legislate for Britain without the *latter* being ever able to prevent it.

FORBES.

"WHEN this Bill is passed into a law, we shall have transferred our power of legislating to the English Parliament. I will admit that literally speaking the settlement contained in it may not be irrevocable, or perpetually binding on Ireland; the re-assumption of our legislative independence may not be made by this Bill physically impossible, but circumstances in future, as I have stated, may render it politically impracticable."

Mr. Orde's *patriotism* to Ireland, displayed by the *manly* and *masterly* speeches he made last winter in the *British* House of Commons, where he not only defended with great ability the 11 propositions, and insisted on maintaining the rights of Ireland, but *rescued* his own character from the most *unjust* contempt.

HARDY.

"Mr. ORDE had complained much of misrepresentation both here and on the other side of the water; and that words were given to him in the British House of Commons which he had never made use of here. Now, after every allowance in his favour, and paying every compliment to his magnanimity in not paying much attention to what was merely personal to himself, where was his boasted friendship to Ireland at the time when he himself was in London, and beheld his own commercial system, that system which was adorned with every colour that his eloquence and the prompt adulatory eloquence of his friends could bestow on it, that system on the strength and permanency of which 140,000*l.* was in one of our *old paroxysms* of *unthinking gratitude* voted away almost without debate, when he beheld that system daily and hourly invaded, and yet he never went to the House of Commons to tell the people of Great Britain what had been done in Ireland with regard to that system, to acquaint them with the temper and disposition in which he had left this House, what we would insist on, and the probable discontents and jealousies that would arise in consequence of any dereliction of that system? Though the Right Hon. Gentleman's representations might have failed of success, yet he would have been justified to himself, to both countries, to all posterity, if he had taken such a part; but he declined acting in that manner."

As

As the present constitution of Ireland is *incompatible* with the prosperity of Britain, the former must be *sacrificed* for the salvation of the latter.

GRATTAN.

“ IF any body of men can still think that the Irish connection is incompatible with the British Empire, doctrine which I abjure as sedition against the Constitution, but if any body of men are justified in thinking that the Irish connection is incompatible with the British Empire,—perish the Empire!—live the Constitution! Reduced by this false dilemma to take a part, my second wish is the British Empire, my first wish and bounden duty is the liberty of Ireland.”

Ireland is to have the power of altering and even originating laws to bind Britain.

CORRY.

“ BUT, suppose this matter as to constitution to stand as it had been stated, and that they had, as it was said, still a deliberative voice in passing the laws of England. I will admit it, said he, in its greatest extent; you will, I admit for a moment, have a deliberation upon your assent or dissent: But is that the deliberative power that constitutionally belongs to this House; that is the deliberative power of the crown, it is true, and that only; but what is the difference between the legislative power of the crown, and of the two Houses of Parliament; have you not the power of originating your laws, the power of altering laws; and besides the power of assent or dissent; and when you reduce yourself barely to the latter, are you any longer the same Parliament, or the same in constitution?”

The three *useless* pillars of Parliament which by the bill are to be pulled down.

GRATTAN.

“ WE rest on three pillars—the annual Mutiny Bill—the annual Additional Supply—and the annual Collection of the Revenue. If you remove all these, this fabric falls; remove any one of them, and it totters; for it is not the mace, nor the chair, nor this dome, but the deliberative voice resident therein that constitutes the essence of Parliament. Clog your deliberations, and you are no longer a Parliament, with a thousand gawdy surviving circumstances of shew and authority.

The present ministry the only *friends* to Hibernian freedom.

FORBES.

“ WITH Mr. Pitt at the head of the British Cabinet, in which sit the author of the Perpetual Mutiny Bill, and another Nobleman, who encouraged Conventions and Congresses, and exhorted our Volunteers not to lay down their arms till a Reform had been obtained, yet acquiesced under all the ministerial persecutions last winter of the friends of Reform in Ireland, we are told from the Treasury Bench that the members of the present British Cabinet are the only friends of Ireland.”

Ireland

Ireland is to impose taxes on Great Britain.

GRATTAN.

" I HAVE stated these Propositions and the Bill as a mere transfer of external legislative authority to the Parliament of Great Britain, but I have understated their mischief, they go to taxation, taxes on the trade with the British plantations, taxes on the produce of foreign plantations, taxes on some of the produce of the United States of North America; they go to port duties, such as Great Britain laid on America; the mode is varied, but the principle is the same.—Here Great Britain takes the stamp of the Irish Parliament, Great Britain is to prescribe, and Ireland is to obey! We anticipate the rape by previous surrender, and throw into the scale our honor, as well as our liberty."

Opposition to the bill from motives of party.

CONOLLY.

" AS an Irishman, an honest man, and a friend to his country, he despised, he rejected the right honourable Gentleman's Bill; he would meet it in its teeth, and give the motion for bringing it in a direct negative; as an Englishman, also, he would do the same, for he was persuaded the interests of the empire would be injured by it, and, in so doing, he acted upon no principle of party. He had been two and twenty years a member of that House, and he had voted with government whenever he could, because he always thought it right to support the government of the country. It was well known, that he had done the same when he was a member of the English Parliament, excepting in regard to one measure only, the American war, which he had uniformly opposed: he defied any man, therefore, to ascribe his vote of that day or of any day to a party motive."

Aburd parliamentary Creed.

GRATTAN.

" WE, the limited trustees of delegated power, born for a particular purpose, limited to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationship to the people who sent us to Parliament, cannot break that relationship, counteract that purpose, surrender, diminish, or derogate from those privileges we breathe but to preserve. Could the Parliament of England covenant to subscribe your laws? Could she covenant that Young Ireland should command and Old England should obey? If such a proposal to England were mockery; to Ireland it cannot be constitution."

Placemen and pensioners are friends to the bill because it will *increase* their power, number and emoluments, beside confining all offices here to *natives* only, totally excluding every Briton whatever.

SIR H. CAVENDISH.

" IT leads me to make an application to the Placemen and Pensioners of this House, and give me leave to say, I speak of some of them with respect—some there are who act from principle, and would disdain

disdain to barter the rights of their country for the emoluments of office—some Pensioners too there are who have done service to their country, some who are pensioned in consequence of Addreses of this House; but should this Bill pass, their occupation would be gone, there would be no necessity for Government to apply to Members for their votes upon any question; we should be an House of Registry, only—a record of the Edicts of Great Britain. Votes would not be wanted, salaries would not be given, pensions would cease, and the few necessary offices for transacting the public business would alone remain, and they too in all probability, in the course of a few years, would be in the hands of Britons.”

The blessed effects of Britain's commercial restrictions.

BURGH.

“HAD not Britain had enough of restrictions on trade? Was it by taxation that she lost the trade of America? No: it was by perverting her military, and even her naval system to the restriction of trade; so much was that pernicious system deep rooted in her councils! She lost the trade of America, by adhering to the principles of an exciseman; and she was preparing to lose and destroy that of Ireland, by adopting the principles of a pedlar.”

The poverty of Ireland so great, that she does not furnish any thing towards the support of the British empire.

GRATTAN.

“THE Right Honourable Member (the present *worthy* Speaker) has spoken not like an Irish ambassador, but an English factor; he has blazoned forth the wants and weakness of his own country with a triumph; he has gone into a most offensive, cruel, and disgusting catalogue of the obligations of this country to England, and he has concealed, with an unaccountable partiality to a country which is not his own, the many and various obligations of Great Britain to Ireland—her obligations to that kingdom for a great part of her importance as a nation, in the consideration of foreign powers, her more particular obligations to that country, such as her dependency on Ireland, with regard to linen yarn, woollen yarn, hides, and provisions. Was money nothing? Were men nothing? England gets both from Ireland. This dependency has been stated, and admitted by almost every Englishman who spoke on this business in Great Britain; but they have gone further, and expressly declared, that the British monopoly in the West, the Company's charter in the East, nay the act of navigation, depended on the Parliament of Ireland. What were the words? ‘The guardianship of these important considerations is left to Ireland;—these were the words of the Englishman, the contrary is the boast of the Irishman.’”

Ireland purchases sugars from 25 to 30 per cent. cheaper, from the British Colonies than she could from those of any other.

HARTLEY.

“WITH respect to the Colonies abroad, Ireland had already made a compact with Great Britain for a Colonial trade, and had paid a

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high

high price for the bargain, by confining her consumption to the produce of the British Islands, to a very great amount, not less, he believed, in the article of sugar, than five hundred thousand pounds yearly, with which she might supply herself from foreign colonies 25 to 30 per cent. cheaper."

Blessed effects, advantage, and prosperity of Britain dictating commercial laws to all parts of the Empire. GRATTAN.

"WHENCE the American war? Whence the Irish restrictions? Whence the misconstruction of the Act of Navigation? Whence but from the evil of suffering one country to regulate the Trade and Navigation of another, and of instituting, under the idea of general Protectorate, a proud domination, which sacrifices the interest of the whole to the ambition of a part, and arms the little passions of the Monopolist with the sovereign potency of an Imperial Parliament; for great nations when cursed with unnatural sway follow but their nature when they invade; and human wisdom has not better provided for human safety than by limiting the principles of human power!"

The English as *fond* of the Bill as the Irish. DOYLE.

"The people of England agree with those of Ireland in the most decided detestation of the measure. It is not a contest between England and Ireland, but a contest on which the rash Minister of one country is leagued with the artful minister of the other, in combination against the people of both."

Necessity of Mr. Pitt's system being put in force, as Ireland had been refractory, ever since her slavish æra of 1782. FLOOD.

"GREAT BRITAIN could have nothing to fear from leaving matters in their present situation, he contended, was manifest, from the past conduct of Ireland. They had never shewn the least indisposition to the sister kingdom since they had obtained their free constitution. In no one instance had they refused or neglected to follow the example of England in adopting any measure that she took with a view to promote and preserve the commerce and navigation of the Empire. A system, therefore, like that proposed in the Bill, was altogether unnecessary. Great Britain had fairly consented to their freedom of trade: they must not, could not, therefore, give up a particle of their free Constitution, nor ought Great Britain to desire it. But, after what had happened, it became necessary that they should declare their determinations to retain their legislative rights."

An advantageous union, the latent design of the patriotic Mr. Pitt.

CURRAN.

"A POWER to bind externally would involve a power also of binding internally. This law gave the power to Great Britain of judging what should be a breach of the compact, of construing it, in fact of taxing

taxing us as she pleased, and gave her new strength to enforce our obedience. In such an event, *he said*, we must either sink into utter slavery, or the people must wade to a re-assumption of their rights through civil blood, or be obliged to take refuge in an union, which, he said, would be the annihilation of Ireland, and what he suspected the Minister was driving at."

As William III. *took off* our commercial shackles in the last century, owing to which, until the *fatal* 1779, we even rivalled Britain, so our *virtuous* Minister is to restore us to our pristine greatness, without even demanding the least *tribute* of our approbation. BURGHE.

"WHAT would have been their situation at that day, if their Commerce had been open since the latter end of the last century, and had been suffered to go on *pari passu* with her own? What resources had she not lost in them? Having impeded their natural exertions, and reduced them to a state of poverty, weakness and misery unparalleled in any other country, ought she not in natural justice to have remunerated instead of enacting? Ought she not at least to have waited, and have left them to their full resources until they should have recovered the situation from which she had depressed them. Entitled by their birth-right, possessed in virtue of Magna Charta of the freedom of their ports, were they now to pay for the restitution of their natural advantages and rights, instead of receiving a recompence for their having been so long withheld from them?"

The Irish character *raised* in the opinion of the English. FORBES.

"I CONDOLE with this House on the convincing proof the conduct of the ostensible Minister has this night afforded, that the national character is sunk in the opinion of the people of England; for I am certain that every gentleman, who hears me, will agree in the truth of this observation, that three years ago no English Minister would have presumed to have proposed such a measure to an Irish House of Commons, as that submitted this night to our consideration by the Right Honourable Secretary."

The British power of *legislating* for this country, confined to a *few commercial* regulations. GRATTAN.

"IT is said, that the laws respecting Commerce and Navigation should be similar, and *inferred*, that Ireland should subscribe the laws of England on those subjects: that is, the same law, the same legislature, but this argument goes a great deal too far—it goes to the Army, for the Mutiny Bill should be the same; it was endeavoured to be extended to the collection of your Revenue, and is intrain to be extended to your taxes; it goes to the extinction of the most invaluable part of your Parliamentary capacity; it is an union, an incipient and a creeping union; a virtual union, establishing one will in the general concerns of Commerce and Navigation, and reposing that will in the Parliament

of Great Britain; an union where our Parliament preserves its existence after it has lost its authority, and our people are to pay for a Parliamentary Establishment, without any proportion of Parliamentary Representation."

The enmity of the English opposition to the harmony of Great Britain and Ireland.

CONOLLY.

"THE Right Honourable Gentleman, he observed, had made it a matter of exultation to state the opposition of England, as having thrown difficulties in the way of the minister, and had imputed the objectionableness of the plan to them. The triumph was as ill-timed, as the imputation was ill-founded. The opposition in the Parliament of Great Britain had indeed objected to the plan, on the ground that he should himself vote against the bringing in the Bill upon, viz. because it would lay the foundation of lasting jealousies and perpetual discontent between the two countries."

By Ireland surrendering her power of commercial legislation to Great Britain, she will only follow the footsteps of Portugal.

GRATTAN.

"THE surrender of Legislature has been likened to cases that not infrequently take place between two equal nations covenanting to suspend in particular cases their respective legislative powers for mutual benefit; thus, Great Britain and Portugal agree to suspend their legislative power in favour of the Wine of the one and the Woollen of the other, but if Portugal had gone farther, and agreed to subscribe the laws of England, this covenant had not been treaty but conquest; so Great Britain and Ireland may covenant, not to raise high duties on each others manufactures, but if Ireland goes farther, and covenants to subscribe British law, this is not a mutual suspension of the exercise of legislative power, but a transfer of the power itself from one country to another, to be exercised by another hand; such covenant is not reciprocity of trade, it is a surrender of the government of your trade, inequality of trade and inequality of constitution."

Consistent and continued blaze of Mr. Orde's eloquence!

CURRAN,

"EVEN the Irish Minister no longer pretended to use his former language on this subject; formerly they had been lost in a foolish admiration at the long impeded mark of oratoric pomp, with which the Secretary displayed the magnanimity of Great Britain. That kind of eloquence, he supposed, was formed upon some model, but he suspected that the light of political wisdom was more easily repeated, than the heat of eloquence; yet they had been in raptures even with the oratory of the honourable gentleman. However, he now had descended to an humble style, he talked no more of reciprocity, no more of emporium."

Mortality

Mortality of the British Constitution. GRATTAN.

" I MAY congratulate this House and myself, that it is one of the blessings of the British Constitution, that it cannot perish of a rapid mortality nor die in day, like the men who should protect her; any act that would destroy the liberty of the people is dead-born from the womb; men may put down the public cause for a season, but another year would see Old Constitution advance the honours of his head, and the good institution of Parliament shaking off the tomb to reascend in all its pomp and pride, and plenitude and privilege!"

Good policy of Ireland binding herself for ever to British monopolies, particularly to that of India. FLOOD.

" It is foolish in any nation to bind itself for ever, to the existing monopoly of any other nation; but to bind itself to the future and possible, but unexisting monopolies of any other nation, would be a folly much more than common. Many people think, that it would not be right for Britain to perpetuate this monopoly, as to herself.—Now such a contract, on the part of Ireland, would have a tendency to perpetuate that monopoly, whilst the freedom of Ireland, from such a compact, might, according to some able opinions, be a means of dissolving that monopoly by degrees, if such a measure were deemed to be beneficial. At all events, it cannot be the interest of Ireland to be for ever bound during the existence of such monopolies—nor after they shall cease, to give up her legislation as to so large a portion of *foreign trade*, by subjecting herself to the duties, regulations, and prohibitions that may from time to time be laid by the British Parliament, on the produce of that immense region which lies between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan."

The necessity of altering our pernicious constitutional and commercial systems. GRATTAN.

" WE can go on, we having a growing prosperity and as yet an exemption from intolerable taxes; we can from time to time regulate our own commerce, cherish our manufactures, keep down our taxes, and bring on our people, and brood over the growing prosperity of Young Ireland. In the mean time we will guard our Free Trade and Free Constitution as our only *real resources*; they were the struggles of great virtue, the result of much perseverance, and our broad base of public action!"

England to pay a tribute to Ireland, in support of our Navy.

FLOOD.

" TO make Ireland propose, to pay tribute for *this negative* on all her desires, and for this *renunciation* of all her principles and attainments—and to pay tribute in a manner peculiarly revolting, and repugnant to those principles and attainments. In the first place, she was made to propose, that

that Ireland should make a perpetual Grant to the British navy, which Britain had never made to her own navy; and, which, no free country ought to make to armaments, that must be under the command of the crown."

Lord Camden gives almost as *decided* an opinion on the 4th Resolution *not* invading Irish independence, as Lord Mansfield did, on Britain's right to tax America; the only difference being the latter carrying his opinion to the *grave*, while the former has promised it at the end of *seven* years.

CORRY.

"THE Hon. Gentleman who had spoken last but one, having alluded to something he had stated relative to a noble Peer (Lord Camden), he thought it necessary again to state what had come to his information upon it. He understood that that Noble Peer had in one debate said, that he would never consent to part with an iota of the 4th Resolution; and in another, when pressed to declare whether it was his opinion that it infringed upon the Constitution of Ireland, he had answered 'that were he pressed for seven years upon that point, he would not give an answer.' This, Mr. Corry said, falling from a Minister and from so wise a man, seemed to him to have one of these only two possible meanings—either Lord Camden thought it did affect the legislative independency of Ireland, and he had caution and wisdom enough not to irritate that country by declaring it; or he thought it did not affect it, and he had unwillingness to offend England by declaring that opinion.—Which of the two motives was it desired should be attributed to the Noble Peer for declining to speak out?"

3d and 9th Propositions extend our trade by *exclusion*!

FLOOD.

"IF the trade of Ireland could be extended by exclusion, the 3d and 9th Propositions would deserve our thanks, as far as the Asiatic world and its circumjacenties are concerned. But this third Proposition takes in another object. It strikes at our trade in all foreign spirits, and consequently must injure our whole trade and intercourse with France, Spain, Portugal and America.

Parliament, *if they please*, can annihilate the constitution.

GRATTAN.

"I SPEAK however as if such transfer could take place, but in fact it could not; any arrangement so covenanting is a mere nullity, it could not bind you, still less could it bind your successors, for man is not omnipotent over himself, neither are Parliaments omnipotent over themselves to accomplish their own destruction and propagate death to their successors; there is in these cases a superior relationship to our respective Creators—God—the Community, which in the instance of the individual, arrests the hand of suicide, and in that of the political body,

body, stops the act of surrender; and makes man the means of propagation, and Parliament the organ to continue liberty, not the engine to destroy it."

Competence of parliament to enslave the People.

CURRAN.

"IT was absurd therefore to let a Bill proceed. But the commercial part was out of the question; for this Bill imported a surrender of the constitution and liberty of Ireland. If, said he, we should attempt so base an act, it would be void, as to the people. We may abdicate our representation, but the right remains with the people, and can be surrendered only by them;—we may ratify our own infamy, we can't ratify their slavery."

As Lord North gave Ireland every thing without demanding any thing, Mr. Pitt *patriotically* repeals his lordship's grants, by demanding every thing without granting us any thing at all.

GRATTAN.

"I CONSIDER former settlements as sacred, and from them I am naturally led to that part of the subject which relates to compensation, the *payment* which we are to make for the *losses* which we are to sustain; certainly compensation cannot apply to the free trade supposing it uninvaded, first, because that trade was your right; to pay for the recovery of what you should never have lost, had been to a great degree unjust and derogatory; secondly, because that free trade was established in 1779, and the settlement then closed and cannot be opened now; to do so were to destroy the faith of treaties, to make it idle to enter into the present settlement, and to render it vain to enter into any settlement with a British Minister. The same may be said of the Colony trade; that too was settled in 1779 on terms then specified, not now to be opened, clogged, conditioned or circumscribed; still less does compensation apply to the free constitution of 1782. His Majesty then informed you from the throne 'these things come unaccompanied with any stipulation;'—besides, the free constitution like the free trade was your right, freemen wont pay for the recovery of right; payment had derogated from the claim of right; so we then stated to ministry."

The effect of our *conditional* clause in shaking off the yoke when we please, verified by our shaking it off in 1718.

BURGH.

"IT had been said, that they might now enter into a declaration of their legislative rights, and so give them an effectual security. Had not that been done in 1718? Did that secure them? What had been their 'imperial and independent legislature from that time,' for above half a century, till the American and Volunteer Resolutions in 1782? Could then too great a jealousy and apprehension for the Constitution and Commerce be entertained by the House so recently (within three years) after their emancipation?"

Ireland

Ireland is to obtain the *substantial* monopoly of the British market, for the *insignificant shadow* of her useless constitution. GRATTAN.

"BUT the error of the argument arises from the vice of dealing. It is a market for a constitution, and a logic applicable to barter only, is applied to freedom.—To qualify this dereliction of every principle and power, the surrender is made constitutional; that is, the British market for the Irish constitution, the shadow of a market for the substance of a constitution! You are to reserve an option—*trade or liberty*;—if you mean to come to the British market you must pass under the British yoke.

The *generous alternative* of the British Ministry, and the consequences of our acceptance or rejection of it. FORBES.

"FOR what is the alternative offered to us?—either to submit to the registry of whatever English acts may from time to time be passed relating to trade and navigation, or to dissolve all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, to be in effect proscribed by her, for not only any commercial advantage we might by possibility obtain by this treaty, but all those which we have for a century past received from England are to be now put in condition; all the acts for years past by which we had admission into the different ports of the British dominions will now be repealed, and every commercial treaty invaded and ripped up; if then at any future period we fail in adopting one clause of an English act, we forfeit our title to all our commerce with every part of the British dominions in all quarters of the world: all the ports of the British dominions will be shut against our ships.

Approbation of the Bill.

J. O'NEILL.

"THE whole of the Resolutions upon the table were obnoxious, but the fourth was peculiarly disgraceful. He wished therefore some gentleman before the House rose, would make a motion expressive of the abhorrence the House entertained of that Resolution. They ought not to suffer the settlement of the constitution in 1782 to be disturbed, much less to be overthrown. Under that impression, he said, he would give his negative to the motion of the Right Hon. Gentleman."

Britain grants a *perpetual export* to Ireland, of its most *useful raw materials*, and allows us for ever to put *prohibition* duties on ours.

GRATTAN.

"WHEN the original Propositions were argued, Gentlemen exclaimed, "England reserves her Wool, and Ireland does not reserve her Woollen Yarn;" it was answered, "Ireland may if she pleases;" what will those Gentlemen now say, when England reserves both;—the primum of her manufactures, and of yours; and not only woollen yarn, but linen yarn, hides, &c.? To tell me that this exportation is beneficial to Ireland is to tell me nothing, the question is not about stopping

stopping the export, but giving up the regulation, in instances where England retains the power of regulation, and the act of prohibition. To tell me, that this exportation is necessary for England is to tell me nothing, but that you are material to England and therefore should have obtained at least equal terms. I own, to assist the manufactures of Great Britain as far as is not absolutely inconsistent with those of Ireland is to me an object; but still the difference recurs, she is not content with voluntary accommodation on your part, but *exact's perpetual export* from you in the very article, in which she retains absolute prohibition—"no new prohibition"—every prohibition beneficial to England was laid before—none in favour of Ireland. Ireland till 1779 was a province, and every province is a victim, your provincial state ceased, but before the provincial regulations are done away, this arrangement establishes a principle of *uti possidetis*, that is, Great Britain shall retain all her advantages, and Ireland shall retain all her disadvantages."

In commercial matters we must *always* depend on the *partiality* and *power* which the present Minister will exert as an *alien* fellow-subject, for the *interest* of Ireland.

HARDY.

"IN commercial matters Ireland must not altogether depend on any ministerial interference or any Minister's promises or exertions, she must rest on herself, her own spirit and industry; she must watch circumstances and seasons most opportune for the advancement of her interests, for she could never flatter herself that when those interests and the commercial interests of Great Britain came, or were even supposed to come into any thing like competition, the Minister would not from his superior and natural regards for that country, or perhaps from mere personal considerations give way to the latter."

England finding that we groan under our lately imposed *setters*, humanely offers to restore us to our former freedom, when we basked in the bosom of the British Parliament.

GRATTAN.

"WE are told this imperial power is not only necessary for England but safe for Ireland. What is the present question? what but the abuse of this very power of regulating the trade of Ireland by the British Parliament excluding you, and including herself by virtue of the same words of the same act of Navigation? And what was the promoment cause of this arrangement? what but the power you are going to surrender, the distinct and independent external authority of the Irish Parliament, competent to question that misconstruction? What is the remedy now proposed? *the evil*—go back to the Parliament of England."

Had the Bill been *law* the sessions before last, Mr. Orde would have been enabled to give us a *convincing proof of its invaluable worth to this country*.

FORBES.

"TO enable gentlemen to form an idea of the contemptible situation to which our Parliament may be reduced by adopting this system, let

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as only conceive for a moment that the Bill now proposed had been passed last session; we all recollect the clause in the Revenue Bill introduced this session, which was copied from an English act of Parliament, for the prevention of smuggling; it was known in our House by the reprobating appellation of the *hanging clause*; upon its first reading, it made the feelings of every constitutional character recoil, an amendment to do away its malignity was proposed and adopted; but if the Bill moved for this night had been law at that period, the Secretary would have risen, and have threatened us, if we voted that amendment, with the forfeiture of the participation of all the British commerce; to what a dreadful alternative should we have been reduced!"

The *patristism* of Ireland, adopting immediately the blessed Bill.

GRATTAN.

"IF three years after the recovery of your freedom, you *bend*—your children, corrupted by your example, *will surrender*;—but if you stand firm and inexorable, you make a seasonable impression on the people of England, you give a wholesome example to your children, you afford an awful instruction to his Majesty's Ministers, and make (as the Old English did in the case of their Charter) the attempt on Irish liberty its confirmation and establishment!"

Because the British parliament declared that by the 4th Proposition, they meant to legislate for Ireland, we *ought to entrust* our commerce and constitution to *their* care.

FLOOD.

"AS to the 4th Proposition, there is such an extravagant absurdity, in saying, that it does not interfere with your legislative authority, that if a majority in both houses of the British Parliament could hold such a doctrine, it would be a demonstration, to all the rest of the world, that we ought to reject the Proposition. And why? Because, it would prove that in a case where the rights of Ireland, and the power of Britain were in question, the British Parliament could not judge as they would judge in any other case. In such a case, it would prove, that all ideas of equality, and all the common measures of reason ceased to operate. What would follow? That, in making laws, imposing the same restraints, and conferring the same benefits, their original error would pursue their proceedings. Indeed, *a priori*, it is sufficiently evident, that the state of the two kingdoms is so different, that the *same* restraints and the *same* benefits would *not* be *equal*, but, in many instances, extremely *unequal*; and, if in all cases, the inequality, as to Ireland, were to be as great, as the impairment of our legislature by the 4th Proposition, is manifest, a code of greater inequality would not be easily to be found."

Ireland to be paid, and rendered glorious, for accepting the Minister's freedom.

GRATTAN.

"ONE should think some God presided over the liberties of this country who made it frugality in the Irish nation to continue free, but
has

has annexed the penalties of fine as well as infamy to the surrender of the constitution."

The two kingdoms *ought* to quarrel, as Ministers have *threatened*, on the question and answer respecting commercial adjustment.

FLOOD.

" THERE was no treaty they could enter into with Great Britain, about which Great Britain and Ireland ought to quarrel. In fact, he was convinced there was no commercial advantage that country could gain which was worth a dispute. England had made a fair proposal; she had said, 'we will give you such and such things, on condition that you will give up the right of making laws for yourselves. It remains for you to judge according to your wisdom and discretion of this condition.' It was fair to say in reply, 'we cannot accept your offer on such condition, because we hold ourselves indispensably bound to retain our legislative rights undiminished, and not to enter into any engagement to relinquish them.' What was there of insult in this conduct? Was it not equally fair on both sides?"

Mr. Foster's assertions *not* overturned.

Ogilvie.

" GREAT BRITAIN exports coals to Holland and France, and the tax might be so managed as not to be so injurious to this kingdom, as to the British coal owners, if Ireland should ever be treated, in this article as a foreign state.—Hops she could have better and cheaper from Flanders, and malt she ought to prohibit, bark she might have from France, where it is cheap and plenty; and bay salt from St. Ubes."

Trifling penalty of Ireland, on her *ever refusing* to register British laws.

CORRY.

" IT needs no *refutation*—consider too the penalty in this case, to affect your assent and dissent under this settlement, and then say, whether even as to that, you do not deliberate under the pressure of a penalty, that must in a great degree indeed destroy the power of deliberation; the penalty of the stop of every article of the trade of the country, should you refuse your implicit assent.—And thus trifling injuries may in detail be heaped upon you, while in defence of each separate encroachment you will be truly told, that any thing but unconditional submission to them is to be sure destruction, not only to your own universal trade, but havoc and ruin to the interests and power of the Empire at large; and thus will you be induced, by repeated submission to heap up ruin on yourselves."

Equity of countervailing duties, their benefit to Ireland, and the practicability of their easy and fair execution.

FLOOD.

" IF this countervailing principle were less exceptionable on these grounds than it is, it would be sufficiently exceptionable, from the impracticability of its execution. Even where an internal duty on

manufacture is to be countervailed, there would be a difficulty, because there would often be a great difference in the value and excellence of the manufactures of the respective countries. In one of the simplest instances that can be; suppose, a duty of a shilling on a barrel of British malt, to be countervailed as to Irish malt—a shilling on both would be nominally equal, but really unequal; because the Irish malt is vastly inferior in value. In manufactures of a more complicated nature, the disparity would perpetually increase, and always against Ireland; the trade of which must undoubtedly consist, for the most part, in lower and less excellent fabrics. Instances might be mentioned, that would overthrow every shadow of equality. But the matter would be still worse where the duty on a *raw material* is to be countervailed, on the import of the manufacture of such material—for this would not be a simple consideration of fact as it were, like the other, but a matter of nice and intricate speculation, concerning the operation of the duty on the material, with respect to the manufacture throughout all its stages. How this could be brought to any satisfactory solution between the two countries, I cannot discern.”

If Great Britain were to adopt commercial regulations for *her own exclusive benefit*, they would be *easily* overturned here by men appointed and paid for that purpose by the *British* ministry.

HARDY.

“WHAT would the murmurs of this country avail if Great Britain gradually, and in instances not immediately perceptible, thought proper to adopt regulations in commerce, exclusively beneficial to herself? Who would be the Umpire between the two nations.—There could be no Umpire.—Great Britain would insist that all her regulations were for our benefit, and that of the Empire, and there never would be wanting a party, and a strong party too in that house, who would support her in her explanations of her conduct, Parliamentary Grotiuses, who would labour most abundantly to prove that the most outrageous, unblushing deviations from the treaty, were perfectly consonant to the good faith of the treaty, and the *jus publicum imperii*.”

Both nations *can*, by the Bill, supply the French with *Hay*.

FLOOD.

“AN incident has happened, during the pendency of this system, which proves its insufficiency. Both nations have been obliged to pass, with precipitation, a Bill to prevent the exportation of hay; which, had this system been adopted, they neither of them could have done. Here then, is one case occurring in a short period (how many more may occur hereafter) which was never foreseen, either in the 10, the 11, the 16, the 18, nor finally in the 20 Propositions—for, at different times, I think, these Propositions, in their various stages, have assumed these several numbers.”

Freedom

Freedom of our ancestors, by granting a perpetual Revenue Bill.

GRATTAN.

“YOUR ancestors were slaves; for the act of settlement granted the hereditary revenue, and from that moment ceased to be a parliament; nor was it till many years after that Parliament revived; but it revived as you under this Bill would continue; without parliamentary power; every evil measure derived argument, energy and essence from this unconstitutional fund. If a country gentleman complained of the expences of the crown, he was told a frugal government could go on without a Parliament, and that we held our existence, by withholding the discharge of our duty. However, though the funds were granted for ever, the provision for the collection was inadequate—the smuggler learned to evade the penalties, and Parliament, though not necessary for granting the Hereditary Revenue, became necessary for its collection.”

Tyranny of Lord North in demanding a subsidy for fettering our former free trade.

FLOOD.

“AS to Ireland’s not having paid for the transaction of 1780, I say the argument would be a sordid one, if it were founded in fact, which it is not. The sentiment of the British Parliament in 1780 was a wiser and more statesman-like conception. It was, that the unshaken loyalty of Ireland entitled her to those advantages; and, surely, that is a price above all prices.”

No English Minister will have powers by the Bill, ever to lay a general excise, or even a single tax on Ireland.

GRATTAN.

“IF a minister should please to turn himself to a general excise, if wishing to relieve from the weight of further additional duties the hereditary revenue now alienated, if wishing to relieve the alarms of the English manufacturers, who complain of our exemption from excises, particularly on soap, candles, and leather: he should proceed on those already registered articles of taxation; he might tax you by *threats*, suggesting that if you refuse to raise an excise on yourself, England would raise colony duties on both.”

The Bill properly compared to a treaty of commerce between two foreign states, upon the least infraction of which the parties may either declare it null and void, or go to war, as they may judge most proper.

HARDY.

“IT had been attempted to compare this negotiation to a common treaty of commerce, entered into between two States, without any previous hostility on either side, but merely to prevent dissension, and a collision of interests in future. Could such an argument exist a moment, when it was considered that such treaties are not final, or scarcely ever expressed to be so? On the contrary, they are made for a certain number

number of years, and either expire or are renewed, just as it suits the interests of the contracting parties. He quoted the treaty with Russia of 1766, and some others as proofs of this assertion, and repeated that he had never read or heard of any treaty between two countries which went like the present, to the entire, unqualified adoption of every commercial regulation which one State thought proper to impose on the other. If such a treaty had existed, and been grossly violated, war would have been the consequence. Were Ireland and Great Britain to go to war on any infraction of this, supposing it to be carried into execution? He hoped and trusted that no such day would ever arrive; but if Ireland was so simple as now to submit to be governed by Great Britain in every commercial regulation, he would venture to augur that the good faith of the treaty would not be adhered to. The very imbecillity of such a surrender would provoke and almost apologize for the contemptuous invasion of the compact that would follow in consequence of it. War, there might not be perhaps between the two kingdoms, but there would be something equally painful to every generous mind; eternal murmurs, and eternal fullen acquiescence on the part of Ireland."

Ireland may raise from Britain an imperial revenue, in despite even of that Parliament and People.

GRATTAN.

"I HAVE stated that Great Britain may by these Propositions crush your commerce, but shall be told that the commercial jealousy of Great Britain is at an end. But are her wants at an end? Are her wishes for Irish subsidy at an end? No—and may be gratified by laying colony duties on herself, and so raising on Ireland an imperial revenue to be subscribed by our Parliament, without the consent of our Parliament, and in despite of our People."

Enmity to the Bill, only arises from party.

HARDY.

"THIS was no Opposition question, and he beseeched that part of the House, which he should ever look up to with reverence and regard, the independent country gentlemen, not to be deluded by the assertions which had been artfully circulated, that it was a party question, or connected with a party in England—it stood on far more solid foundations—it did not look to the present hour, or the present Minister of the day, nor did it solicit the humiliation or disgrace of any man, or court any momentary triumph."

Besides the *sole* condition of tribute, we have *twenty three* others! so that *one* British sole condition consists of *twenty-four*! to all which we must subscribe, before we obtain a *full* participation of a *very small part* of the commerce of Great Britain.

FLOOD.

"THE 2d of the 20 Propositions, declared, that, on the full performance of the condition of tribute, a full participation of commerce should be given to Ireland. This is doubly falsified by what follows:

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This makes the tribute the *sole* condition, and yet, afterwards, condition is added to condition, inasmuch, that in the British Bill, founded on the Propositions, there are twenty-three indispensable and fundamental conditions. It is falsified again by the very next, as well as by subsequent clauses of restriction, that prove that the participation is not to be full. To speak at present of the third, what does that except? Not less than all the countries between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straights of Magellan, containing in the least exaggerated estimate a fourth part of the terraqueous globe, over and above what Britain has any title of property to in that region. We read with surprise of a Roman Pontiff granting one hemisphere to one prince, and another hemisphere to another prince, and here we see half an hemisphere cut off from Ireland in a parenthesis; and that, in a resolution purporting to extend the commerce of Ireland."

Mr. Orde's Bill will give an *additional scope* to our parliamentary deliberations, and their freedom of debate.

GRATTAN.

"THERE are two ways of taking away free-will, the one by direct compulsion, the other by establishing a præpollent motive. Thus a servant of the Crown may lose his free-will, when he is to give his vote at the hazard of his office, and thus a Parliament would lose its free-will, if it acted under a conviction that it exercised its deliberative function at the risk of its commerce. No one question would stand upon its own legs, but each question would involve every consideration of trade, and indeed the whole relative situation of the two countries."

Propriety of Mr. Pitt's ordering in a Bill founded on the twenty Resolutions, *without* laying them before the Irish Parliament.

BROWNE (Univ.)

"INSTEAD of wise moderation, the feelings of this country have been outraged by the Fourth Proposition. While that insult stands recorded on the Journals of Great Britain; while it testifies such a disposition to invade our rights, in that haughty nation, it is impossible to negotiate. A still greater insult has been offered in their bringing in a Bill, before they knew our sentiments. The natural course was to send us their Resolutions, and ask whether we could agree to those conditions. But in bringing in a Bill, what did they say, but that they expected submission, and were careless as to our assent, or rather were sure of gaining it by artifice or force. And how did they gloss over this infamous Proposition? By acknowledging our independence. Words against facts. They asserted it, and invade it in the same breath. They acknowledge it, and only desire us to give it up."

The Bill *superior* to the act of 6th Geo. I.

BURGH.

"THIS Bill would put them in a worse situation than even the 6th of George I. That left them, at least, *internal* Regulation; but this was to submit their most internal œconomy to regulations made by the British Parliament."

Ireland

Ireland *must* relinquish all benefits of past treaties to enjoy those *superior* ones that Mr. Pitt has prepared for her.

GRATTAN.

" I MUST protest against one circumstance in this arrangement, which should not accompany any arrangement, which would be fatal to settlement itself, and tear asunder the bands of faith and affection; the circumstance I mean, is the opening of the settlements of the Colony trade, and free trade of 1779: this adjustment takes from you the power of choosing the article, so that the whole covenant hangs on the special circumstance, and takes from you your option in the produce of foreign plantations, and even of America. It is a revision in peace of the settlements of war, it is a revocation in peace of the acquisition of war. I here ask by what authority? By what authority is Ireland obliged now to enter into a general account for past acquisitions? Did the petition of the Manufacturers desire it? Did the addresses of the last sessions desire it? No; I call for *authority*, whereby we can be justified in waving the benefit of past treaties, and bringing the whole relative situation of this country into question in an arrangement, which only professes to settle her channel trade? I conceive the settlements of the last war are sacred; you may make other settlements with the British nation, but you will never make any so beneficial as these are; they were the result of a conjuncture miraculously formed, and fortunately seized. The American war was the Irish harvest.—From that period, as from the lucky moment of your fate, your commerce, constitution, and mind took form and vigour; and to that period, and to a first and salient principle must they recur for life and renovation."

England can, in good faith, repeal the free trade act.

Ogilvie.

" THE duration of the free trade Act depends entirely on Ireland, as it is expressly declared by the Act, that *it shall have continuance so long as the conditions are complied with by Ireland*. I deny, therefore, in the fullest manner, that Great Britain has any *right* to repeal the Act of 1780: I acknowledge indeed that she has the *power*, which is the *Russian's right*, the *right* of violence and injustice; the exercise of which never ought to be admitted as a possible case in the conduct of Great Britain towards Ireland."

The Bill establishes Irish *freedom* on so solid a basis, that you could even crush Great Britain, as her Parliament and People will be henceforward only mere Cyphers.

GRATTAN.

" SEE what a mighty instrument of coercion this Bill and these Resolutions—*Mr* and Great Britain can crush you—*Mr* and the minister can crush you in the name of Great Britain—he can crush your imports—he can crush your exports—he can do this in a manner peculiarly mortifying, by virtue of a clause in a British act of Parliament that would seem to impose the same restrictions on Great Britain—he can do this in a manner still more offensive by the immediate means of your own Parliament, who would be then an active cypher, and notorious stamp

stamp in the hands of Great Britain, to forget and falsify the name and authority of the people of Ireland. I have considered your situation under these Propositions with respect to Great Britain."

The parliament of Ireland *swindled* Mr. Orde out of 140,000*l. per annum.* Sir H. CAVENDISH.

"THE question lies in the narrowest compass; several Propositions were offered to your consideration, we agreed to them: We gave 140,000*l.* a year taxes for the offer; the Propositions went to England, they were altered; additions, regulations, modifications were added to them, and they were rendered inadmissible in this country by the conditions annexed. We were duped into the grant of 140,000*l.*"

By comparing the late address of this Parliament with the former addresses in W. III.'s reign, the *real* cause of Ireland's *voluntary* relinquishment of her *unprofitable* WOOLLEN trade, and *adopting* that of the *linen*, is fairly and fully explained. BURGHE.

"BEFORE they trusted ministry with their Constitution, let them see how far the Parliament of Great Britain had been hitherto to be relied on with regard to their commerce. Without observing that, in the very same Address, the two Houses of the British Parliament stated, that the alarming alterations were essential and indispensibly necessary. Let them consider what had been the consequence of former Addresses and Professions. In the year 1698, the balance in favour of Ireland, on account of the flourishing state of her Woollen Manufacture, was four hundred and twenty thousand pounds. The Parliament of England, desirous to deprive her of this trade, and to substitute the Linen Manufacture in its room, addressed the King to declare to all his subjects of Ireland they should receive 'all countenance, favour and protection from his Royal influence, for the encouragement and promotion of the said Linen Manufacture to all the advantage and profit that kingdom could be capable of.' His Majesty answered that he would take care to do what their Lordships desired. At the same time the Commons addressed his Majesty, desiring him to encourage the Linen Manufacture of Ireland, to which they declared they should *always* be ready to give that Manufacture their *utmost assistance*. The Lords Justices of Ireland also, by command from England, declared, at the same time, to the Irish Parliament, that the Linen and Hempen manufacture would be encouraged, &c. That the condition was complied with, by the giving up of the Woollen Manufacture in Ireland, was pretty evident, since, in consequence of the English Minister having found a majority in the Irish House of Commons of that day, of 74 to 34, (on which, no doubt, he prided himself), for receiving a Bill for laying additional duties on Woollen Exports from that Kingdom, Ireland, instead of a balance of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds in its favour, was, in the course of four years, so reduced that it

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could not pay its establishments civil or military, and was in as bad a situation as it had since been (with its boasted Linen Manufacture) in the year 1779, and the Commons were, in the very next Session, 1783, obliged to lay 'its deplorable state' before the Queen; notwithstanding which, in that very reign, and in every reign since*, discouragement, rivalry and restriction had been experienced by them in their Sail-cloth, Printed Linen and Linen Manufacture of different species. Notwithstanding these assurances and this compact ratified by the three Estates of the British Parliament, had not Mr. Orde that day come forward and proposed the restitution of part of that ceded Manufactory, the Sail-cloth Manufactory, as an inducement for Ireland to treat with Great Britain? Was not this first to rob them, and then to attempt to bribe them with their own? Now, if in a transaction, in which it would have been dishonourable between two private Merchants to have thus acted, the successive Parliaments of Great Britain had so obviously broken her former parliamentary engagements, what should they say of a proposal to confide to her *present* declarations, not only their Commerce, but their Constitution?"

It is for Ireland's *interest* to barter her constitution for a free trade to all parts of the world *that Britain pleases*. GRATTAN.

"I DO not want to make an experiment on the British market, by making an experiment likewise on the constitution and spirit of the people of Ireland. But do not imagine if you shall yield for a year, you will get so easily clear of this inglorious experiment; if this is not the British market, why accept the adjustment? and if it is, the benefit thereof may take away your deliberative voice. You will be bribed out of your constitution by your commerce."

Deep policy, and wary boldness of Mr. Pitt, exemplified in his irrevocable *boon* to Ireland, without once deigning to consult our *impo-*
verished fellow-grumblers in Great Britain. HARDY.

"IT was evident to every person, that the Minister, when he first entered on the business, did not know the extent to which he was going; nor could any one have imagined, that in an adjustment which involved the dearest interests of both countries, and particularly those points on which Great Britain was tremblingly alive and irritable, that he could have proceeded in the hazardous manner in which he had. Without concert, without communication, without any sort of previous knowledge of the disposition or habits of any one commercial or manufacturing body in Great Britain, he proposed a plan of commercial arrangement to Ireland without being able at the same time in the slightest degree to pronounce whether such a plan, or any part of such a plan, would be acceptable to Great Britain or not."

* From the 9th and 12th of Anne—7th of Geo. I.—26th of Geo. II, to the 10th and 18th Geo. III.

Commerce preferable to Constitution.

GRATTAN.

"IF the genius of Old England came to that bar, with the British constitution in one hand, and in the other an offer of all that England retains or all that she has lost of commerce, I should turn my back on the latter; and pay my obeisance to the blessings of *her* constitution, for *that* constitution will *give* you commerce, and it was *loss* of *that* constitution that *deprived* you of commerce."

Until the latter end of the reign of Charles II. Ireland did *not* enjoy the Colony trade on an *equal footing* with England; therefore as Lord North, in 1780, *reduced* them to their former dilemma, Mr. Pitt means *partly* to emancipate them from such *slavery*.

FLOOD.

"I SAY that till the 15th of Charles II. you could export any thing to, and import any thing from, the British Colonies, as freely as England herself: and, that, after landing it in Ireland, you could reship it for any other country; and for England, as well, as for any other. In 1780 therefore, you were either restored to that liberty, or it must follow, that that boasted transaction was a deception; and that instead of giving you immunities you never had before, it did not even restore you, to what you had formerly possessed. This liberty therefore of reshipping British Colony produce (the only boon which this system boasts) did in every consideration of reason and good faith accompany the transaction of 1780, and was therefore, not, now to be adjusted. Nay it is absurd to suppose, that, in 1780, that was withheld from Ireland, which Ireland had possessed, till the 15th year of Charles II.; which every one of the thirteen States of America did possess to the hour of their separation? and which new Brunswick possesses now?"

Former advantages of England regulating our trade.

GRATTAN.

"WHY are you not now a woollen country? because another country regulated your trade.—Why are you not now a country of re-export? because another country regulated your navigation."

Kindness of Mr. Pitt in anticipating the wishes of Ireland, by stipulating the surplus of the hereditary revenue, for the unparalleled advantages that Britain is to give us.

BURGH.

"HE owned, he could not subscribe to the justice of the great principle on which the whole negotiation had been founded—the giving at present the overplus of their hereditary revenue to Great Britain. Why would Great Britain counteract them in the affectionate wish of considering *all* their resources and exertions as for her advantage? Why did she lay a clog upon that prosperity which must be her own? Why did she not seek to restore them to that situation, that wealth, and strength pointed out to them by their natural resources, from which her

restrictions alone had debarr'd them? If they had been impeded by those restrictions, if with advantages of climate, situation, &c. they were so far behind her in every improvement, ought she not to feel that she alone was the cause of their being so?"

The *Crown*, as well as the British Parliament, will be more *dependant* on our parliament than formerly.

GRATTAN.

"SEE what would be your situation with respect to the Crown? You would have granted to the King a perpetual Money Bill, or a Money Bill to continue as long as the Parliament of Great Britain shall please, with a covenant to increase it as often as the British Parliament shall please. By the Resolutions a great part of the additional duty would have been so granted—the trade of the country is made dependent on the Parliament of Great Britain, and the Crown is made less dependent of the Parliament of Ireland, and a code of prerogative added to a code of empire."

The opposition here to Mr. Orde's bill, originated in a *sedition* party, who are so *inimical* to the prosperity and ease of Ireland, as to endeavour to prevent Great Britain from taking the *trouble* of making laws for us.

FORBES.

"THE imputation that the opposition in this house to the proposed system originates in party, recoils on its authors on the Treasury Bench; if their present measure is not a matter of party, why press it contrary to the wishes of both countries? I disclaim all party, the legislative independence of Ireland is not to be degraded by being made a matter of party; 'tis the common cause of the people of Ireland, 'tis a cause in which they have the alliance of God and Nature; with such support they cannot fail of success, let them only be true to themselves. The memorable words of Lord Chatham respecting America are in this instance applicable to his son; "if the Ministers persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects of Ireland from his crown, but I will affirm, that they will make the crown of Ireland not worth his wearing."

Eulogium on Mr. Pitt's party, with an *invective* against the English opposition, and the *poor* abilities of Mr. Fox, who stirred up the British manufacturers to oppose the propositions, and whose adherents have been the sole cause of not passing them in their original form.

HARDY.

"MANY an opposition in England had taken advantage of popular clamour which had been raised against the Minister. The Right Hon. Gentleman, Mr. Orde, might, if he pleased, bear testimony and ample testimony to the truth of that observation, for if ever a party took advantage of national delusion, the very party with which the Right Hon. Gentleman stood connected certainly did. And yet, notwithstanding the

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the recency of this transaction, notwithstanding such unequivocal and damning proof of the misconduct of the Gentleman's own connections, he now accused and most improperly accused the opposition in England of doing that which on a former occasion he knew his own friends actually did. But giving every latitude to his argument, and allowing the possible interference and machinations of party in their utmost extent, was any man in his senses to be told that the commercial and manufacturing bodies in England *required* the aid of opposition to point out to *them* in what respects this system militated against their interests. The abilities of the Gentleman, who is deservedly considered as the head of that opposition, were perhaps unparalleled in all parliamentary history, but did it require those abilities or the warning voice of that Gentleman to cry, 'woe to the commercial interests of Great Britain!' Was it the nature of commerce to sleep, to lie in dull oblivion of its own interests, and see with any eyes but its own? Did it, like the Philosophers in the island of Laputa, require perpetual flappers to warn it against precipices and surrounding dangers? In the year 1778, when the first extension of trade was given to Ireland, the commercial spirit of England even then took the alarm, and unaided most certainly by the opposition of that day. It had always been the case, and ever would be the case as long as commerce existed in Great Britain, and it was idle to lay *that* to the charge of any accidental floating party in the state, or to mere casual parliamentary hostility which had its foundation in the nature of things, in the recesses of the human heart, in the disposition and habits of mankind, since the first sail waved over the ocean. Mr. Hardy observed, that a noble Lord in one house of the British Parliament said, the business was too big for party. An observation equally pointed and pertinent, for the fact was undoubtedly so."

Sanguinary victory of Ireland in 1782, over *Liberty*. CURRAN.

"IT was freedom that wafted the shouts of an emancipated hemisphere across the wastes of the Atlantic, and roused Ireland from her lethargy; it was that that sent her armies into the field and crowned their illustrious leader with fame and with victory—thank heaven! not a victory stained with blood—not a victory bathed in the tears of a mother, a sister or a wife—not a victory hanging over the grave of a Warren or a Montgomery, and uncertain whether to triumph in what she had gained, or to mourn over what she had lost!"

Conditional clause gives *additional freedom* to Ireland.

GRATTAN.

"I OPPOSE the original terms as slavish, and I oppose the conditional clause as an artful way of introducing slavery, of soothing an high and spirited nation into submission by the ignominious delusion that she may shake off the yoke when she pleases, and once more
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more become a free people. The direct unconstitutional Proposition could not have been listened to, and therefore resort is had to the only possible chance of destroying the liberty of the people, by holding up the bright reversion of the British constitution, and the speculation of future liberty, as a consolation for present submission. But, would any gentleman here wear a livery to-night, because he might lay it aside in the morning? or would this House substitute another, because next year it might resume its authority, and once more become the Parliament of Ireland?"

Polity of fixing and perpetuating any system.

FLOOD.

"IT was, he said, absurd to attempt to bind up the legislature to any fixed and permanent system. Such an idea was ridiculous and impracticable from the very nature of the subject, it being the characteristic of commerce to be variable and fluctuating. What, therefore, at one period might be a wise and salutary regulation, might prove directly the reverse at another."

Polity in rendering the Bill perpetual, as Parliament can bind posterity.

DOYLE.

"I OBJECT to the *duration* of the treaty. It is the nature of commerce to fluctuate and be diverted into new and unexpected channels, and is it not therefore absurd to bind by fixed and eternal regulations, what is in a constant state of fluctuation; and moreover, I deny that we have power to bind irrevocably succeeding generations, still less to impose upon them an eternal tribute."

Mr. Pitt's commercial *boon* to be made a *perpetual compact*, which we can break when we please.

CORRY.

"MUCH pains had been taken in stating the system of the Minister, to place the fourth Resolution on a footing with the condition annexed to the grant of the Colony trade in 1780; but there was, indeed, a material difference; that in 1780 was a liberty proposed to Ireland, to trade directly with the Colonies upon certain conditions, to which Ireland answered by address only, that she was thankful for the favour it conveyed, but bound herself to no acceptance of it. In consequence she thought fit, indeed, to make use of it at pleasure; but, in the present case they are invited to a *compact*, in which they are to bind themselves to that trade upon certain *conditions*, and which *conditions* they, by the *compact* itself, stipulated to perform; and at the moment they were invited to enter into this *compact*, they were told that the *conditions*, (which were a part of it,) depended upon themselves; whenever, therefore, they chose to get rid of it, they might cease to perform the *conditions*, and so get rid of the *compact*. And are two nations, said he, to enter into a compact, and that as permanent and final, in contemplation of such mean and pitiful subterfuge by which to creep out to promise to perform what they intend to break, to falsify their word, and sacrifice

sacrifice their honour; from such council the honest mind turns with contempt, while it despises the adviser."

Benefits that Ireland will *certainly* gain from *underselling* Britain in her own very home market. HARTLEY.

"THE opening of the British market to Ireland, it did not appear to him to be so essential an advantage as some Gentlemen seemed to imagine; at least, he would sooner consent to forego any possible benefits that might arise from it, than receive it under circumstances so disadvantageous as those with which it was to be accompanied. It was idle to suppose, that they could undersell Great Britain in her own market, when experience proved, that Great Britain could undersell them in the market of Ireland; a circumstance which had occasioned the demand of Protecting Duties. This part of the new system, therefore, was delusive and tantalizing; it held out a prospect of future advantage, which they were incapable of availing themselves of."

Lord North's *fetters* put upon our commerce in 1779, which allows us not to trade to any part of the world, ought instantly to be torn off, and Mr. Pitt's gracious *freedom* to be immediately accepted, and handed down pure and unimpaired to posterity. GRATTAN.

"I BESEECH you to consider your present situation, and contemplate the powers of your own country, before you agree to surrender them. Recollect that you have now a right to trade with the British plantations in certain articles, without reference to British duties—that you have a right to trade with the British plantations in every other article, subject to the rate of British duties—that you have a right to get clear of each and of every part of that bargain—that you have a right to take the produce of foreign plantations, subject to your own un stipulated duties—that you have a right to carry on a free and unqualified trade with the United States of North America—that you have a right to carry on an experimental trade in countries contiguous to which Great Britain has established her monopolies—the power of trade this, and an instrument of power and station and authority in the British empire! Consider that you have likewise a right to the exclusive supply of your own market, and to the exclusive reserve of the rudiment of your manufactures. That you have an absolute dominion over the public purse, and over the collection of the revenue—if you ask me how you should use these powers, I say for Ireland, with due regard to the British nation; let them be governed by the spirit of concord, and with fidelity to the connexion; but when the mover of the Bill asks me to surrender those powers, I am astonished at him. I have neither ears, nor eyes, nor functions to make such a sacrifice. What! that free trade, for which we exerted every nerve in 1779, that free constitution for which we pledged life and fortune in 1782! Our lives are at the service of the Empire—but—our liberties! No—we received them from our Father, which is in Heaven, and we will hand them down to our children."

Corrupt

Corrupt state of the present Irish nation, by which they happily can be made to submit it to the equity of British legislation. CURRAN.

" HE feared the British Minister was mistaken in the temper of Ireland, and judged of it by former times. Formely the business here was carried on by purchased majorities; there was a time when the most infamous measure was sure of being supported by as infamous a majority. But things were changed; the people were enlightened and strong; they would not hear a surrender of their rights, which, he said, would be the consequence if they submitted to this Bill. It contained a covenant to enact such laws as England should think proper; that would annihilate the Parliament of Ireland. The people here must go to the Bar of the English House of Commons for relief, and for a circuitous trade to England, we were accepting, he said, a circuitous constitution."

Our *linen* manufacture is to be *effectually secured* by the Bill.

HARTLEY.

" ADMITTING that Great Britain meant to continue a friend to the linen manufacture of Ireland, he did not think she gave them, even in that particular, the absolute security she had a right to expect; because, the only engagement she held out to their linen manufacture by the proposed system was, an assurance that no duty should be imposed on Irish linens; she did not, at the same time say, she would not reduce the duty on foreign linens; and the one assurance without the other, Gentlemen must acknowledge, did not afford that species of security sufficient to guard the linen manufacture of Ireland against possibility of future rivalry in the British market."

Eulogium on administration and a *continued confidence* in their *honesty* and *abilities*, proved by one of their zealous supporter's *friendly* declaration on the Bill.

SIR H. CAVENDISH.

" THIS Administration I have always supported, because I BELIEVED they had *abilities* equal to their situation, and honesty equal to any thing. I am sorry I *cannot* indulge that partiality I have for the present Administration, but my interest as a man, as an Irishman, the interest, and honour of the nation call aloud upon me to reject a measure so destructive in my opinion to the legislative rights of Ireland. I cannot readily suppose that this House will pass the Bill. This I will say, if they shall, they will have betrayed the trust reposed in them by their country; they will have rendered themselves odious to every honest man in the kingdom, but I trust, and believe they will not so far disgrace themselves. But if this Bill should pass into a law, then I say every legal constitutional step ought to be taken to get it repealed as soon as possible. The people of this kingdom have too much spirit and honesty to sit down quiet under such a law. Sir, it requires no skill, no abilities to rouse the people of this kingdom against this measure: they are already roused; the difficulty will be to appease them."

By

By this bill our parliament shall have the *supremacy* over that of Britain in all commercial cases.

GRATTAN.

"BY this Bill we are to covenant that the Parliament of Ireland shall subscribe whatever laws the Parliament of England shall prescribe, respecting your trade with the British Plantations, your trade in the produce of Foreign Plantations, and part of your trade from the United States of North America. There is also a sweeping Covenant or Condition, whereby we are to agree to subscribe whatever laws the Parliament of England shall prescribe respecting Navigation; the adjustment subjects also your reversionary trade to the East to the same terms—over all these objects you are to have no propounding, no deliberative, no negative, no legislative power whatsoever. Here then is an end of your Free Trade and your Free Constitution."

Ministers threaten that if our Parliament do not pass the bill, Britain will destroy our *linen* trade as she did our woollen.

HARTLEY.

"IT had been said, that Great Britain might forbear any longer to encourage the staple of Ireland, and to take her linens. This he considered as an empty menace. Exclusive of the advantage Great Britain derived from her trade in Irish linens, which made it her interest to continue it, he could not entertain so base an opinion of that country, as to imagine that she would totally disregard the solemn compact she had entered into, when she stripped Ireland of her woollen trade and manufacture, and be guilty of so gross a breach of national faith."

The people of Britain, (or rather the present ministry) are unbounded in their *love* to Ireland, by reason of its insular situation, so *unfavourable* to the support of the imperial navy.

BURGH.

"WHAT was the reason, he asked, of a distinction introduced between the two kingdoms? Was it because a sea ran between them? What could have been wanting to the prosperity of the two countries united by nearness of situation, similarity of constitution, of language, of habits, and of laws? What the best means for the attainment of riches, of strength and security? The extension of naval power! How has Heaven provided that blessing for both by throwing a sea between them, by giving to both all the advantages and all the resources of their insular situation, and multiplying those advantages and resources? What then should they think of that country which, instead of rejoicing in this double bulwark of her constitution, commerce and strength, should bear to it an eye of jealousy and an hand of oppression, and counteract by the adoption of the most narrow prejudices, the wisest and most favourable disposition of Providence!"

Eulogium on Mr. Pitt, and his *able* administration, wherein Mr. Orde's *long* and *unanswerable* speech in the British House of Commons last winter is not forgotten.

BROWNE, (Univ.)

H

"I DO

" I DO not believe, (without knowing individuals, but arguing merely from consequences) that the present administration is capable of forming that wise and durable plan of commercial intercourse, which is likely to keep these countries in peace and harmony. Instead of pre-meditation, they appear to have commenced rashly without knowing the interests or tempers of the two kingdoms. Instead of long consideration, all has been hurry and precipitation. Instead of concord, the English Minister has been perpetually at variance with his Irish agent. The one promised us immense advantages, the other soothed England with arguments, to prove those promises fallacious, so that when both in London, they were afraid to meet in the House of Commons."

Propriety of Mr. Pitt's indulging Ireland with *originating* and *disputing* his 11 propositions to Great Britain, then *generously* added *nine* more, to mortify *her* pride, and shew *our* superiority. HARDY.

" WITH a shew of compliment to Ireland he suffered her to take the lead in the business, and why? Only eventually to make her feel her complete inferiority, for the Parliament of Great Britain had now taken the business entirely out of their hands, and it was on *their* plan, *their* adjustment, not their own original system, that the Parliament of Ireland was called upon to proceed. So that, in fact, it had been much better, if this Bill was to go forward, if the Irish Parliament had never entered into, or adopted any commercial system whatever; in that case, they had only to accept or reject the twenty Propositions, as sent from Great Britain, whereas if this Bill passed into a law, they would not only have accepted those twenty Propositions, but they would have the mortification to reflect, that they had been obliged to relinquish the plan of their own adoption, and that plan universally allowed to be, in every respect more beneficial to their commercial, and not in the least degree interfering with their constitutional interests."

Disadvantages of the *accursed* act of 1780, in comparison of Mr. Pitt's *blessed* bill, which favours us with *low* British duties in every instance, whereby, as by the act of 1780, we were cruelly confined to all our own old *high* Irish duties. OGILVIE.

" IT was *expressly provided* by the act of 1780 that the *principle* should not be extended to any part of the trade carried on or enjoyed by Ireland previous to that act; and that the conditions therein stipulated, were expressly limited to the importation and exportation granted under that act. Whether this proviso was insisted on by Ireland, or was matter of concession as the other parts of the act, it did the highest honour to the liberality and justice of Great Britain, who gave freely, without taking advantage of the gratitude of Ireland, to impose any restraint on the trade she enjoyed exclusive of that grant. The proviso now stood the Magna Charta of Irish trade, and formed an insuperable obstacle to any attempt to restrain it beyond the limits prescribed

scribed by that act; but the British Bill now on their table, that had been introduced by the Minister in England, declared it, 'in contradiction to this proviso,' essential and indispensably necessary to the present settlement, that Ireland should not only impose the same duties, regulations and restrictions as Great Britain, on the exportation and importation, granted by the act of 1780, but should submit to the same terms on the exportation and importation, which had been expressly exempted from these conditions by the proviso of the act; nay, the present Bill went still further, and demanded that Ireland should subject to the conditions of the act of 1780, her trade with foreign Colonies generally and universally, which every man must allow was a demand perfectly new."

By the *odious* acts passed in the British parliament in 1780 and 1782, *against* the freedom of Ireland, she has now no right to any foreign trade, nor to participate in every advantage of colony trade.

FLOOD.

"AS to foreign trade, one word dispatches that, viz. the word, Independence. Independent Ireland, has every right of foreign trade which Britain herself possesses. For this, therefore, she had no compact to make with Britain. This had been adjusted in 1782. British Colony trade was adjusted in 1780. The British Parliament, in 1780, declared, by resolution, that the unbaken loyalty of Ireland entitled her to participate in *every* advantage of British Colony trade. The British act of Parliament, in pursuance of this resolve, authorized Ireland to trade to the British Colonies with *like* advantages with Britain herself. In equity and good faith, what can we have to ask that this did not give? Or can Britain now say that she withheld any thing without impeaching her own candour? Britain boasted the liberality of that transaction. Ireland illuminated.

Every confidence ought to be placed in Mr. Pitt, from his great *consistency, virtue* and *regard* for Ireland, in *not* introducing the 4th Resolution, and his strict honour in *adhering* to his original eleven Resolutions.

BURGH.

"TO admit the Bill would be to admit confidence in Mr. Pitt, who first sent over Eleven Propositions to Ireland, and afterwards brought in Twenty in Great Britain, totally different, containing every alteration in respect to Constitution and Commerce, and even Geography, who had himself introduced the Fourth Proposition, legislating for Ireland, without even the words, 'To be passed by the Parliament of Ireland,' inserted in amendment, that certainly did not take its rise among the friends of Mr. Pitt, who had as Prime Minister, coming out of the Cabinet, moved the Address, declaring these alterations to be made after the maturest deliberation, and to be essential and indispensable."

Mr. Orde's *clinging* to the *original* propositions, was owing to the similitude of his *patriotism* to Mr. Pitt, who nobly insisted on *resigning*, ere he would forfeit his word of honour and enslave the people of Ireland.

HARDY.

"WHAT was the case then, or why did the Right Hon. Secretary move for leave to bring in a Bill not founded on the original system? Why but because Mr. Pitt abandoned that system, and had he not abandoned it, he could not in all probability have remained at the head of the Treasury. But the Treasury was a sacrifice too great to be made to the kingdom of Ireland; the Right Hon. Secretary therefore who proposed the system to the House was given up, the amiable Chief Governor, under whose auspices he brought forward that system, was given up; why were they? the question was easily answered—Because, if they had not Mr. Pitt could not have kept his ground, he must have gone out. Every man of candour would acknowledge that to be the case, notwithstanding all the Right Hon. Gentleman's honeyed words, and the circuitous manner in which he had opened the business of that day. Was then the kingdom of Ireland to hang its fate like a solitary zealot of a party on the ministerial existence of any man? Was it before the last echo of its victory had died away, and in the sight of those who led her on to that victory, to sit down like the unfortunate Carthaginian general after all his conquests, a wretched mendicant at the threshold of any man?"

Mr. Orde's bill *totally different* from the English twenty Resolutions,

GRATTAN.

"THE Right Honourable Member has denied that this bill framed here adopts the fourth Proposition, and the fifth, which obliges us to follow England in her laws with respect to foreign plantation produce. He read his own bill, and he reads the fourth Proposition, and the fifth; but as he has had the management to change *a little* the words, he conceives the public will *not* see the meaning; but this is a vain experiment. He states that the Bill insists that we should give British plantation produce *a preference*, and favour, such as England gives.—How is that to be done? By adopting British laws, such as England makes; and when he softened this covenant to adopt English acts with respect to foreign plantations, into the phrase of favour, he thinks he may stoutly deny the fact, because he is able to give a new appellation to it: thus his Right Honourable Friend, when he called Cork the medium of empire, thought it would have removed the objection to his calling it an emporium."

The *address* did *not* imply that our constitution should be bartered for imaginary commerce; it only meant that Ireland should enjoy the colony trade, (which she did *not* get by the act of 1780) by our parliament

parliament *registering* British laws, which was no more than what they consented to in that year, though then *free*, and now *enslaved*.

BURGH.

“WHAT was the plain undeniable construction of the Address that had been carried up to the Throne? Did it not propose that they should barter Constitution for Commerce? What other meaning could be put upon those words of it, stating, in substance, that they should continue to enjoy the Colony Trade (theirs already, by the act of 1780,) by passing the same laws and regulations as the British Parliament should do? Supposing that trade, to the exclusion of others, to be ever so advantageous, was not that to admit it to be bartered, and to say they had no objection to give up their Constitution, if they could get an advantageous price for it? But, it was said, this was no more than they did in 1780. Let it be remembered, however, that then they had no free Constitution. Then, when they suffered their Commerce to be restrained by British laws, it would have been absurd indeed not to have suffered it to have been extended. By their independence obtained in 1782, they had a right to the choice of cheaper markets and to trade with *all* the world. To enter, therefore, into such a Compact at present, would be to barter, and to barter basely, to accept of a limited Commerce and Foreign Legislature, and to give up, in exchange, free Commerce and *free Constitution*, which, by the way, was the *only security* they could have for retaining any Commerce at all, even the dole they were now called upon to bargain for.

Baron Yelverton's act *subversive* of the rights of Ireland.

GRATTAN.

“THE Right Honourable Member mentions Lord Chief Baron Yelverton's act, in the framing of which I was concerned. The Bill of that great patriot and constitutional lawyer neither does, nor could warrant, any use the Member has made of it. We wished to pass a declaration of rights; men were alarmed about their property held under English acts; he framed that act accordingly; but in order to obtain the assent of the Minister, he was obliged to adopt and pass by reference certain English acts then existing, respecting navigation and trade, and this passing of English acts then in existence, the Right Honourable Member compares to a covenant to adopt English acts in all times to come, or rather indeed to adopt the English legislature. It is impossible that the Right Honourable Member is not aware of the fallacy and feebleness of his own argument on this subject; just so he argues, that you may take the trade of the world under British regulations, because you have adopted those regulations in the property trade of Great Britain—confounding the principles of property with the privileges of free trade, as well as the principles of logic by arguing from the particular to the general.

People

People of Britain much to *blame* respecting their altering the Original Propositions, because the *digested* and *unanimous* measures of the People of Ireland.

FORBES.

"I HAVE no resentment against the people of Great Britain for their conduct on this subject; if they were wrong, we were the cause of their falling into error; we sent them over the eleven Propositions without any circumstance attending them, which could command respect from the people of England; not one manufacturer or merchant in Ireland was consulted on the subject; we did not send to England any reasons or evidence to prove, either that the eleven Propositions would be advantageous, or that they could not be injurious to the common interest of both countries. Great Britain saw that they were not a measure of the people of Ireland; of course English prejudices operated against them, as we had not sent over any thing to counteract the influence of those prejudices."

The fourth Resolution does *not* bind us to English laws. SMITH.

"WHAT does it import?—Why, this: that all British laws of regulation with respect to the trade wherein we are to participate, are '*to be of force*' in Ireland; and if it stopped here, the transfer of legislative power would be clear and incontrovertible: but a qualifying clause ensues, on which much reliance is had: namely, '*that these laws are to be of force by acts, to be for that purpose passed by the Irish Parliament.*' Now, what is the natural, the fair, and I would almost say, the obvious construction of this clause? Why this, that the British Parliament shall by their laws bind the people of Ireland, not indeed *immediately*, through the intervention of their legislature; that is, they shall make laws, not for the *people*, but for the *Parliament* of Ireland; and thus the representatives of the people of this country—the trustees of their rights—and the guardians of their liberties, are to become the betrayers of both, and the instruments of oppression to those whom it was their *bounden* duty to protect and defend."

Eulogium on Mr. Orde, for explaining the difference between *Mart* and *Emporium*, and defending the rights of Ireland, and his own *spotless* character in the British House of Commons, instead of *sculking* in the Treasury with Rose, Steele and Prettyman.

BURGH.

"HE hesitated not to say, that he had no confidence in the Right Honourable Gentleman, and that, because the Right Honourable Gentleman had first proposed to them Eleven Propositions, and now proposed a Bill founded on Twenty Resolutions, allowed, by the address of both Houses of the British Parliament to his Majesty, to be essentially different. He could have no confidence in the Right Honourable Gentleman, because he had not, at the outset of the business, consulted the merchants of Ireland, though their interests were necessarily so deeply involved in a commercial treaty; and because he had likewise *refused* the

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the House time to enter into any such enquiry and consultation. He could have no confidence in the Right Honourable Gentleman, because he had *not ventured to shew himself* in the British House of Commons, when in London, though the subject was, at that time, depending and under agitation, *though his character was daily canvassed*, and was rested on the difference between a *Mart* and an *Emporium*. Mr. Burgh said, he had been confounded and mortified at his deficiency of understanding in not being able to perceive any distinction where the great man and the high-minded virtuous Prime Minister of Great Britain could find one broad enough to rest and defend the character of the Prime Minister of Ireland, (his friend, his confidant and his associate in principle and politics.) He had, he said, in all humility, taken pains to trace out the distinction. He had even turned to Doctor Johnson's Dictionary for that purpose, and it had been some consolation to him to find that the difference had baffled the discriminating sagacity of the Doctor, who fairly construed one word by the other. He apprehended that, if Mr. Orde had gone to the House, instead of *sculking* and *hiding his head in some corner* of the Treasury, he would not, probably, have differed with Mr. Pitt on the Constitutional Propositions *there*, although he did so about Reform *here*. He owned he never had heard any reason why the Right Honourable Gentleman could pretend to the confidence of that country, [Ireland] except one, assigned by a noble Marquis, in the House of Lords in Great Britain, that he had, indeed! the prospect of a reversion of an Estate in another."

Mr. Ogilvie acknowledges the *truth* of the Attorney General's argument respecting the conditions on which we are to share in the India monopoly, at the *early* period of some future *millennium*.

OGILVIE.

"THE Right Honourable Gentleman, [the Attorney General] had been *mistaken* in the conditions annexed to the trade with the East Indies, *if ever* that trade should be opened to Ireland, of which there was very little probability indeed; for *that* Ireland was now to engage to carry on that trade, under such duties, restraints, and restrictions, as should be from time to time *imposed by Great Britain*. The Attorney General calling out *no, no*, Mr. Ogilvie read from the Bill the express Clause with the words he had used, and further added, that Great Britain had in this Case also *reserved a power of prohibiting the Importation into Ireland, whenever she should find it her interest to prohibit the Importation into Great Britain*."

Not having great capital, we should *not* endeavour to increase it.

GRATTAN.

"GENTLEMEN have no right to argue from present want of capital against future trade, nor to give up their capacity to trade because they have not yet brought that capacity into action, still less have they a right to do so without the shadow of *compensation*, and least of all on the affected compensation which, trifling with your understanding

as well as interest, suffers a vessel to go the West, in its way to the East. I leave this uncompensated surrender—I leave your situation in the East which is *blank*—I leave your situation in the East which is a surrender of trade itself; and I come to your situation in the West, which is a surrender of its freedom.”

The *badness* of our ports and the dearness of our provision owing to Britain's former *extension* of our trade, are now made arguments by *ourselves*, against our ability to carry on more trade than we have at present.

BURGH.

“WHAT were some of the arguments in Great Britain? ‘The Irish were not to be allowed commerce on account of the cheapness of their labour!’ What was that cheapness of labour owing to? To the want of employment, and to the consequent misery of the people. What was the cause of that misery? The restrictions laid on their manufactures and commerce by Great Britain. Ought she first to do them the injury, and then make use of it as an argument against them? What was the other objection? ‘The goodness and situation of their ports for commerce:’ so that, it seems, they were to be restrained in commerce on account of the disadvantages they had derived from Great Britain, and they were to be restrained from commerce on account of the blessings they had derived from Heaven! Was this the affection! Was this the justice! Was this the liberality! Was this the magnanimity promised and expiated on by the Right Honourable Gentleman!”

Advantages that this kingdom reaps from the British Colony Trade, the *cheapest* and *best* market.

FLOOD.

“BUT Ireland paid for it in two ways besides, and in each of them more than the value of the object. 1st, Ireland gave to the British Colonies (that is to Britain) a monopoly of her consumption in *those* articles, in which she *then* obtained that free trade. Now I say, universally, that any nation pays too dear for any one market, when she gives up all other markets for one. And particularly that the nation pays too dearly for the sugar market of the British Colonies, who gives up all other sugar markets for the British; which is neither the best nor the cheapest. 2dly, I add, that Ireland paid in taxes for the direct trade more than it was worth, and I prove it thus: 10*l.* per cent. is a good profit in general on trade, and no trade can afford to pay the whole nor the greater part of its clear profit in tax. To apply this. We paid for that direct trade an estimated sum of tax to the amount of above 100,000*l.* a year. Now this would be the whole clear profit, at 10*l.* per cent. of 2,000,000*l.* worth of trade. Could the whole clear profit be afforded in tax—or can the whole increase of traffic, by the direct trade, amount, in a series of years, to any thing like the enormous sum of two Millions? Most certainly not.

Impossibility

Impossibility of Mr. Pitt raising more than *two hundred thousand* pounds per annum from Ireland, on *Tea* only, should his blessed Bill pass into a law.

OGILVIE.

“GENTLEMEN should attend particularly to a danger that threatened Ireland with respect to the East India Trade, if the present Settlement should take place. He said, they all knew that a Tax on Windows had last session been imposed in Great Britain as a commutation for the high duties formerly paid on tea; this tax had excited much dissatisfaction in England, where it had been considered as an additional land-tax; if the Minister to regain his lost popularity, or any other Minister to ease the internal burdens of the people, should be inclined to repeal this Act, and to impose the high duties formerly paid on tea, he would have this additional encouragement to do it, that he would tax Ireland at the same time, and that a share of the burden would be borne by this kingdom. The duties paid on tea were, as well as he recollected, stated from 190,000*l.* to a million. If only one-fourth of the above quantity was consumed in Ireland, it would raise upwards of 200,000*l.* a year on *Ireland*, a burden which he was persuaded every man must see would prove ruinous to this kingdom; and which would be a sufficient reason for rejecting the present system, if there were no other.”

As Britain is proprietor of the *whole globe*, Ireland must be bound by British laws.

GRATTAN.

“TO argue upon the subject in the manner that the House had heard, was to argue from the trade properly the trade of Great Britain, to the trade of all the world. It was taking it for granted, that either quarter belonged equally to Great Britain. It was setting her up as one immense proprietor of the globe. The Bill regulated their trade universally with Portugal, with Spain, with all the world. Why should they bind themselves to such a sweeping system of regulation? They could have foreign trade without entering into the measure. As to foreign trade, England gave them no right they did not before possess. As to Colony trade, she gave what they had before, on the former condition, that they gave the Colony trade a preference in their market.”

Great power of the *future* Irish parliaments.

CORRY.

“AS a legislative body at home you will be despised, or you, Sir, perhaps sent from the empty and absurd state of the foreman of a national Grand Jury, with that bauble on your table, to plead the cause of the trade of Ireland, at the bar of those now your equals, then your superiors; a spectacle to gratify their ambition, and a sacrifice to their interests; disgraced abroad, and despised at home—and that which should accompany you ‘as love, obedience, honour, troops of friends’ you must not look to have, but in their stead curses—no longer will you have power to protect with premiums your manufactures, or with bounties your trade; you may still injure it by your power, it is true,

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and thus you will be looked up to, as certain savages adore the Devil, not because he is the source of good, but as they would avert evil."

Eulogium on the Candide Mr. Orde.

BROWNE, (Univ.)

" WOULD not one imagine that the Minister had called us together to announce some glad tidings, and not to ask an abject surrender of our constitution and of our commerce? What have we really come forth to see—in truth a 'reed shaken with the wind,' a trembling Minister, who feels himself tottering, and would persuade us, that on his existence depends the existence of the country. This schemer, this system-monger has blown a new bubble to amuse us. This plaything of the Minister, which has been dandled about during the whole season, till it was repeatedly broke, is patched up once more. He has produced system after system, and like *Candide*, has told us, of every one, that it was the best of all possible systems. The moment we had revolved it, with much labour and study, a new one was proposed, and the former vanished. Our assent was obtained by him to eleven propositions, merely to be told, that we could not have them. So that we might say, with the merry knight, he is neither fish nor flesh, and a man does not know where to find him. Every system was to be permanent, and then the chief defence of it was, that we might break it when we pleased. Every plan was to be final; the last words of the Minister, and then followed another ultimatum, like the man, who finding a good sale for 'the last words of Mr. Baxter,' published 'more last words of Johnny Baxter.' Irish could bear a blunder, and the two ultimatums made but one ultimatum. I beg pardon for jesting; but the subject strikes me in such various lights, sometimes melancholy, at others ludicrous, that I feel my mind divided like the figure of Roscius, between the comic and tragick muse."

Folly of Lord North in not making Ireland pay a tribute when he enslaved her trade in 1779.

GRATTAN.

" IT was in 1779 thought that to have annexed subsidy to constitution had been a barren experiment on public poverty, and had marred an illustrious experiment on the feelings of the nation, and had been neither satisfaction to Ireland, nor revenue to Great Britain. This bolder policy, this happy art, which saw how much may be got by tax, and how much must be left to honour, which made a bold push for the heart of the nation, and leaving her free to acquire, took a chance for her disposition to give, had its effect, for since that time until the present *most unfortunate attempt*, a great bulk of the community were on the side of government, and the parliamentary constitution was a guarantee for public peace."

Approbation of the bill.

CONOLLY.

" INSTEAD of conciliating, and dovetailing the two countries, it would, in his opinion, have a contrary effect; it would take away their constitution

constitution and leave them no commerce at all. (The Bill bartered away the constitution of Ireland.) The Bill proposed to be brought in by the right honourable Gentleman, notwithstanding the mazes and the labyrinth into which he had endeavoured to lead the House, with a view to disguise and gloss over its real purport, it was evident, was in substance and effect, the same with the Bill upon the table: the Bill brought into the British Parliament, by the minister. It ought, therefore, to be opposed in the first instance. They had better not suffer the Hydra that threatened ruin to both kingdoms to grow up; let them meet the mischief in its infancy and strangle it in the cradle."

The Americans in 1775, had some of the principles contained in the 4th and 5th resolutions offered to them, which they rejected; but indeed they were far *inferior* to Mr. Pitt's. FORBES.

"WE should remember, that the terms now proposed by the 4th and 5th Resolutions were contained in point of principle in the conciliatory Propositions offered to America in 1775, and rejected with scorn and indignation; indeed they were more favourable than the present, for though the English Parliament was to ascertain the quantum of supply, or the amount of the taxes, as is to be done in the proposed system respecting the amount of each English tax or duty, which we are to adopt, yet privileges were reserved to America, which are not reserved to us; she was to decide on the mode and subject of taxation, and of course the power of originating her Bills was to reside in her own legislature."

Irish manufacturers in the plantation trade *can dictate* to the British parliament on the *lowering* of their duties. GRATTAN.

"SUPPOSE this country should in any degree establish a direct trade with the British plantations, suppose the apprehensions of the British manufacturers in any degree realized, *they* may dictate *your* duties, they may petition the British Parliament to raise certain duties, which shall not affect the articles of their intercourse, but may stop yours; or, which shall affect the articles of their intercourse a little and annihilate yours; thus they may by one and the same duty raise a revenue in England, and destroy a rival in Ireland. Camblets are an instance of the former, and every valuable plantation import an instance of the latter."

The Attorney General's *confirmed*, that the *free trade* of 1780, is *not* permanent, but *revocable* at the pleasure of Great Britain.

OGILVIE:

"Mr. OGILVIE said, that as all the arguments brought to justify the clauses in the Bill, founded on the 4th, 5th, &c. Resolutions of the British Parliament, were drawn from the famous act of 1780, passed in consequence of the British Act, of the 20th George III. c. 10. known by the title of the act of *free trade*: He begged the House would honour

him with their attention, while he should endeavour to shew them, that the above act had been mistated, for he could not suppose intentionally misrepresented, by a right honourable and learned gentleman, (the Attorney General) whose authority, he imagined had misled all those who had repeated his argument.—He supposed, that the Right Honourable Gentleman was aware, that the Bill, introduced by the Minister in England for a final settlement, clashed with the act of 1780, and could not be passed into a law, while the other continued in force, and that he had of consequence seen the necessity of representing this act, as a *favour granted by Great Britain, held at her discretion, and revocable at her pleasure.*—He most readily admitted, that the act had been a concession from Great Britain; but he positively denied, that it was revocable at her pleasure: And the Right Hon. gentleman could not know the act, if he really thought so; for it was therein expressly enacted, ‘That the importation and exportation, allowed by this act, shall commence, and shall have continuance so long, and in such respective cases only, as the goods or any of them, &c. shall be liable by some act or acts of Parliament, to be made in the kingdom of Ireland, to equal duties and drawbacks, and shall be made subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions, as the like goods, &c. exported from, or imported into Great Britain, from the British Colonies in the West Indies, America and Africa.’ These, he said, were the words of the act, which he then held in his hand, by which the duration of the act was put for ever out of the power of Great Britain, and made to depend entirely on the future acts of Ireland. Great Britain could not, at any time, nor under any circumstances, recall or annul the act; but Ireland might forego the advantages granted by the act, by not performing the conditions annexed to the grant; although even here care had been taken, that she might relinquish the advantage in any one particular instance, without forfeiting the general right. The Right Hon. gentleman’s argument, therefore, to induce the House to accept the present Bill, as giving them a *permanent Right* to a favour which was held *now* by an act voidable at the pleasure of Great Britain, not only fell entirely to the ground, as being utterly unfounded; but unfortunately it contradicted what had been argued by the Right Hon. gentleman near him, [Mr. Orde] who had recommended the present Bill as a matter of experiment, that might be done away at any time by Great Britain, or Ireland.”

The *blessings* to be derived from a *perpetual revenue bill*, which Mr. Pitt demands from this country. FLOOD.

“LASTLY, a perpetual revenue bill in effect is demanded—perpetual duties are unconstitutional enough in themselves, and derogatory enough from Parliament.—A perpetual bill for collecting perpetual duties would make the matter much worse. Were the whole hereditary revenue to go as usual to Irish services, what man would suffer a perpetual revenue bill for it’s collection? Any question, approaching to such an idea, has been always received with peculiar alarm. How monstrous

stuous then was the idea contained in this proposition? And what does it demand? No less, than that Ireland should make a perpetual revenue bill for the whole hereditary revenue, because she was about to give away a part of that revenue to Britain. It is difficult to state any thing more extravagant than this."

Should the bill pass, the people must never petition Parliament, nor his Majesty for its repeal, nor must the *useless* Volunteers ever come to any of their *blunt* and heavy *leaden* arguments on the original compact.

Sir H. CAVENDISH.

" IF this Bill should pass, I would recommend constitutional petitions to both Houses of Parliament, constitutional petitions to the King for the repeal of it. I would repeat those petitions decently, and fervently, if the first application did not succeed. If Parliament should not listen to such a constitutional method of applying for the repeal of the Bill, a question would then come before the Publick of a serious nature indeed. A question so serious, and so very much affecting the existence of this kingdom as an independent nation, that I shall not now go into the consideration of it. I should lament the necessity of going into the consideration of the origin of Government, of the compact upon which societies are formed, by which the people give up a part of their liberty for the protection of the remainder. May there never be occasion to agitate that question! May it sleep for ever!"

Mr. Pitt considering Ireland as a British colony, and the States of America as such, *regulates* our trade with them on that principle, and greatly *enlarges* our whole foreign trade.

GRATTAN.

" YOUR option in foreign trade had been a restraint on England, or a resource to Ireland, but under this adjustment you give up your foreign trade, and confine yourself to that which you must not presume to regulate. The exclusion of foreign plantation produce would seem sufficient, for every purpose of power and domination, but to aggravate, and it would seem, to *insult*, the Independent States of North America are most ungraciously brought into this arrangement, as if Ireland was a British colony, or North America *continued* a part of the British dominion; by the resolutions almost all the produce of North America was to be imported to Ireland, subject to British duties; the bill is more moderate, and only enumerates certain articles, but what right has Great Britain to interfere in our foreign trade, what right has she to dictate to us on the subject of *North American trade*?"

Britain must submit to Irish *prohibitions*, in order to annihilate Lord North's *unjust* act of 1780.

OGILVIE.

" BY the Minister's Bill Ireland was to bind herself, not only to lay the same duties as Great Britain, on rum, peltry, train oil, and whale fins, imported from the *States of America* but also to *prohibit* the importation of those articles whenever Great Britain should prohibit them; which

which power of prohibition was by the Bill generally extended over every part of the Colony trade, British and foreign : A requisition so entirely new, that Great Britain had not made it even at the moment of granting the *free trade* with the Colonies ; for the only power of prohibition asked at that time had been of the trade with the British Colonies or Plantations in *America*, then in actual rebellion."

Good policy of Mr. Pitt.

CONOLLY.

" HE talked of the bad policy of Great Britain in considering Ireland as her rival in commerce, and by her conduct keeping three millions of people in that kingdom, many of them in a starving and miserable condition, rather than having five millions of useful and industrious subjects, for so many, he said, he was persuaded the country was capable of maintaining, and maintaining well, if proper encouragement were given. He said, he would again refer to the allusion, he had made on a preceding day; the whole business of the Propositions was one continued drama produced by the pen of the same author, the Minister of Great Britain; whether it was to be tragick or comick remained to be proved. The writer of the dramatics personæ had first made Mr. Ireland speak, and then Mr. England spoke in his Resolutions; he had spoken a second time in the Bill upon the table, and now the self-same author made Mr. Ireland speak again to agree to the Bill and say, 'I don't think either constitution or trade worth troubling my head about; if I keep them, you will only torment me *de die in diem*, so that it is better to give up both at once.' Mr. Ireland, however, now spoke, he hoped for the last time, and that they should see the curtain drop and hear no more of the drama."

Parliament ought to *overthrow* the present *slavish* constitution, which would elevate them in the public opinion, by obeying the mandates of a *patriot ministry*, for the glory and prosperity of the whole kingdom.

GRATTAN.

" FAITHFUL to the constitution of the country you will command and insure her tranquillity, for our best authority with the people is, protection afforded against the ministers of the crown. It is not public clamour but public injury that should alarm you; your high ground of expostulation with your fellow subjects has been your services; the free trade you have given the merchant, and the free constitution you have given the island! Make your THIRD GREAT effort, preserve them, and with them preserve unaltered, your own calm sense of public right, the dignity of the Parliament, the majesty of the people, and the powers of the island! Keep them unfulfilled uncovenanted, uncircumscribed, and unsupplanted! These paths are the paths of glory. and let me add, these ways are the ways of peace; so shall the prosperity of your country, though without a tongue to thank you, yet laden with the blessings of constitution and of commerce, bear attestation to your services, and wait on your progress with involuntary praise!"

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The *kindness* of Old England to young Ireland, in preventing her from using any *improper* exercise, food, or raiment, that might tend to *corrupt* her health and her morals. BURGH.

“ HE compared the conduct of Great Britain to Ireland to a decayed farmer, who, having an affectionate and active son or brother, desiring nothing more than to live with him to cultivate the farm and to increase the profits for their mutual benefit, should say to him; No you sha’n’t work in this field, because I sowed it when I was young; and you must not work in that part of the farm, because I enclosed it some years ago; and you must not plow with any improved machines, because they are mine. And though your being well fed, and clothed and comfortable would make you stronger, and enable you to turn out more work in the year; yet you shall continue to live in the inside of a dunghill, and go naked and feed on water and potatoes, (when you can get them) to shew you I will be consistent with my former conduct towards you. In this way did Great Britain reason with regard to her greatest, her most natural, her last resource! Why would she not make up to herself the loss of America in that country? Why would she, in a great imperial theme, proceed on the confined notions, on the local prejudices and on the narrowness of mind of the manufacturers of this or that town?”

Mutual *congratulations* of both countries, on the *fairness* of their *iron* countervailing duties. FLOOD.

“ WITH regard to iron, what has happened? A duty has been laid here on our iron export, to make amends for the disparity of duty on the imported material. Ireland says, that she has been defrauded in this calculation, on this principle. Our duty was laid, as if Britain made use only of imported iron which pays high duty—whereas, it is certain, that she makes use of a great quantity of British iron not paying the duty—it is said, a third part of her consumption is domestic iron. If so, it is evident, that the Irish duty was taken at a third too high, or at 33 per cent. disadvantage to our iron export. Yet, what does Mr. Wedgewood say? That Britain is defrauded in the business, and that Ireland has evaded the equalization. What hope can there be that the two kingdoms should ever be agreed on such a principle as this? Nothing that is subtle and intricate, can ever be the foundation of settlement and concord. As to the single instance, last mentioned, that of iron, how is the difference of duty on the raw material to be countervailed, throughout all the stages of that manufacture, from an hob nail, to the spring of a watch? If there is to be a different countervailing duty, for each stage, what end of it? If an average is to be struck, on what principle is the medium to be taken?”

Advantages of England *regulating* your Colony taxes. GRATTAN.

“ SUPPOSE Great Britain should raise her Colony duties, to a still greater degree, to answer the exigency of some future war, or to fund fund

send her present debt, you must follow, for by this bill you would have no option in foreign trade; you must follow, not because you wanted the tax, but lest your exemption from taxes should give your manufactures any comparative advantage. Irish taxes are to be precautions against the prosperity of Irish manufactures! You must follow, because your taxes here would be no longer measured by the wants of the country or the interest of her commerce, because we should have instituted a false measure of taxation; the wants and the riches of another country, which exceeds you much in wants, but infinitely more in riches.

Commercial arrangement *worthy* of alteration by Ireland, as she has now no *free trade*. FLOOD.

"HE considered the Proposition that tended to bind down the Parliament of Ireland to pass the same laws as the Parliament of Great Britain, without power of deliberation, as a Proposition that took away their right of legislation. Such a Proposition was inadmissible then, it would be inadmissible to-morrow, it would be inadmissible for ever! What had passed, had, he observed, had a good effect, inasmuch as it had proved, that the *arrangement* of a commercial system was *not* a subject *worthy of altercation* between the two countries. They had already every right to trade that they wanted, or that was likely to promote their present interest; and any particle of commerce that they had not, was scarce worth having, at least not worth a dispute. They had a right of trading with any part of the world that chose to trade with them. What could they desire more? Every thing necessary to be done, must be left to regulation, to be settled, from time to time, between the Parliaments of the two countries, as the pressure of the occasion should require."

As the British Ministry have *not* declared that their *Twenty Resolutions*, as they stand *verbatim*, are the *indispensible* conditions on which they restore us to our *former freedom*, such as we experienced till 1779, Mr. Orde *can* make whatever *alterations* he pleases. BURGESS.

"THE fourth Proposition, as to external, and the fifth as to internal legislation, were relied on by both Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain; they had been acknowledged to be the motive, the *sine qua non* of the whole negotiation, and all the alterations made in the Eleven Propositions had passed the Commons, the Lords and the Cabinet, (that was to advise the King in the final disposal of the business,) and had been followed up by an Address, declaring those alterations to be essential and indispensable, so as to preclude every hope and thought on the part of Ireland, to negotiate further. Could they conceive, therefore, that Mr. Orde would bring in any Bill founded on any other principles than those so declared to be essential and indispensable, or that it would be admitted in England if he did?"

All *Irish bounties* being *useless*, must be abolished.

FLOOD.

“THE infancy of our manufactures, and the poverty of our people has forced us into a variety of bounties, and encouragements, in order to give some spring to the languor of the Nation. The Linen Board, the Dublin Society, Parliamentary Donations, directly and indirectly, are made use of for this purpose—Our linen, woollen, silk, cotton, glass manufactures; in a word, almost every thing respecting manufacture or husbandry, receives some encouragement. What follows? Every encouragement of this sort, will, by the 10th Proposition, be carried to account against our trade, and will raise the amount of that countervailing duty which is meant to protect the market of Britain against the admission of Irish manufacture: Thus, all our bounties, so necessary to our weakness, must be relinquished, or will become a burden on our export, and a barrier against the egress of our manufactures, to that market of Britain, which is the only thing that is offered to Ireland, in exchange for the market of the world. Is this just or wise?”

The British Parliament *cannot* be charged by Ireland with a *breach* of faith, when they pass Pitt's Bill into a law.

OGILVIE.

“THE Parliament of Great Britain could not be fairly accused of a *breach of faith* in what they had hitherto done, as the Bill had not come to that stage when its *principle* could be discussed; but he was extremely surprised that the Minister should have introduced to that Parliament a Bill that is in direct contradiction to an existing law; which law it was not in the power of Great Britain to repeal without a *breach of faith* with Ireland; for the continuance of the act depends on the will of Ireland; and he challenged any man in the House to shew that Ireland had relinquished or forfeited the right she enjoyed under that act. The British Parliament, therefore, could not have passed the Minister's Bill into a law, without committing an act of violence, which ought never to be admitted as a possible case within those walls.”

The *Irish* manufacturers, by the Bill, can influence the British Parliament to alter their acts as they please.

GRATTAN.

“WILL you make the British manufacturers your Parliament, and that too for ever, and that too on the subject of their jealousy, and in the moment they displayed it—safe! I will suppose that jealousy realized, that you rival them in some market abroad, and that they petition their Parliament to impose a Regulation which shall affect a tonnage which you have and Great Britain has not; how would you then feel your situation, when you should be obliged to register all this? And how would you feel your degradation, when you should see your own Manufacturers pass you by as a cypher in the Constitution, and deprecate their ruin at the bar of a foreign parliament!”

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The *amiable* conduct of a former party towards America, now compared with the *present reigning Tory Faction's* conduct respecting this country. FORBES.

" I SHALL give my negative to this motion, as I do not wish to administer to the support of a system of policy, which bears too strong a resemblance to that pursued respecting America. When the stamp act was repealed, America was re-united to Great Britain; but the despotic principles of a certain desperate faction, which, I fear, now prevails in England, could not be reconciled to a re-union founded on the basis of British liberty; they revived their system, imposed the tea duty, persevered in their principles, and lost America. The power of legislating for Ireland was relinquished in 1782, but the same desperate faction, mortified by the prospect of renovation of the British empire, in consequence of the wise and liberal policy adopted respecting Ireland, wish to resume that power; but taught by fatal experience in America the folly of a direct invasion: they now only ask us to *lend* them out power of legislating for Ireland, and tell us, that if we do not like the use which they make of it, they will restore it to us, or we may resume it."

The *odious trial* by jury, and *Magna Charta* are to be destroyed, and the person of an *excise-man* as *sacred* as that of the *Viceroy*.

GRATTAN.

" CONTEMPLATE for a moment the powers which this Bill presumes to perpetuate—a perpetual repeal of trial by jury—a perpetual repeal of the great charter—a perpetual writ of assistance—a perpetual felony to strike an exciseman! The late Chief Baron Burgh speaking on the revenue bill, exclaimed, 'you give to the dipping rule what you should deny to the sceptre.' All the unconstitutional powers of the excise we are to perpetuate, the constitutional powers of Parliament we are to abdicate."

Infamous conduct of the Duke of Portland, when Viceroy. FORBES.

" RATHER an invidious comparison has been drawn between the present Lord Lieutenant and the Duke of Portland; in the address of 1782, that Nobleman used no ministerial influence to carry any favourite system; he left the Parliament and the people to themselves to declare their wishes without reserve; he said, if he did not approve of them, he would resign, but approving of them he transmitted them to England declaring, at the same time, that he would not hold the government of this country unless they were in every instance complied with; his conduct was far more meritorious than that of our present Viceroy."

F I N I S

